

# Maclean's

WOMEN'S  
GROWING FEAR  
OF VIOLENCE

## TAKING THE RAP

MULRONEY ACCEPTS THE BLAME FOR  
BAD POLLS—AND STARTS FIGHTING BACK

A Conversation  
With Canada's  
First Woman  
Justice Minister



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# A Brave, Fragile Freedom

A two-week trip through many of the countries of Eastern Europe that, until only months ago, were subsumed under the red blanket of communism, has been an eye-opening experience of the profound changes that are still taking place. It did make it extremely clear to me that the revolution now taking place from Berlin to Moscow is the single most significant social and political event since the Second World War—and the defining development of the last half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, in nearly every country where communism has either been overthrown or is in the process of transforming itself, anti-Communist leaders openly and enthusiastically supported. It seems to be limited to small, frenzied right-wing groups looking for a scapegoat for the deprivations and repression of the past 50 years or more.

At the same time, in both Germany, reunification is already a political reality, even as the superpowers and other countries disavow a plan for influencing that process. Movement between the Germanys is now, in my practical sense, free. Increasingly, the West German deutsche mark—or the American dollar—in taking over from the currency of the East and most important, the Germans themselves have decided to make their unified nation open one of the most powerful of the continent, regardless of what any outside power desires. And these single-handed demonstrations, as well as the speed with which they are moving, are setting the agenda for change in the other countries of the East.

In Poland, conversations I regularly have with delegates reported from the previous year. To me, it seemed implausible, but, in fact, many Poles say that they are deeply concerned because the Soviet Union has begun withdrawing some of

its Warsaw Pact forces from their country. They say that the greatest potential threat to their freedom, at least in the past, was to be a unified Germany if it should again become imperialist. That is also free of another kind. And one prediction, who failed not to be named: "The Germans are already using economic 'hard' power to lay Polish low. One day, if we are not careful, they will own us."

**M**eanwhile, Poland is in the vanguard of a parallel economic experiment that, if successful, will almost certainly be adopted in varying forms by other Eastern European countries in an attempt to create an efficient free-market economy. Warsaw abolished most subsidies, basically from wages and food prices. The immediate impact has been savage increases in prices, which few can now afford to pay. Some economists, however, say that if the people accept the sacrifice that the system imposes, in roughly a year Poland's economy will begin to recover.

Moscow forms a radically different set of obstacles. There, planned socialism has created a sense of freedom that is unprecedented in its scope. But there is no accompanying rebirth of the economic system. The economy has in fact, collapsed. There is an acute shortage of food, medicine and medical equipment. And it is in Moscow that state-junkie rhetoric, mainly on the part of rightists, is openly advocated.

Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, there is an air of prudence and a palpable sense of freedom. But the potential for things to go dangerously and needlessly wrong is never far from the surface.

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## LETTERS

### 'BIG MAC IS A BLAND TRIUMPH'

The establishment of a McDonald's restaurant in Moscow can be regarded as a triumph only of blandness, standardization and massive marketing hype. The 'Big Mac' attack? *Business*, Feb. 12. Is that the best the West can offer?

Paul Devlin,  
London

### RICH MAN, POOR MAN

Poverty is a structured part of a Canada in which wealth is dependent on poverty ("The face of hunger," Special Report, Feb. 12). Ten per cent of Canadians have more wealth than the other 90 percent put together. We cannot call ourselves a democracy with that kind of gap in wealth distribution. You have touched the tip of an iceberg, but it is not at the interests of business-controlled governments to hear the story of poverty.

Sandy Cameron,  
Vancouver

Your report on poverty does not wash with me. Living on welfare is no game, but with a determination to beat the odds, a remarkable number of people live on welfare. Many are up without a safety net, but we did not do enough to bring a survivalist home tough it out. We worked where we could and beat those odds. Today's people can do the same if they really want to.

John Curran,  
Vancouver, B.C.

We are overburdened with those who think that the government should solve all problems by providing more money. I refuse to pay taxes for those who should be working. The answer is not more money, but incentive and the incentive to work.

Dawn McGuire,  
Regina

Eighteen organizations, according to my count, were quoted in your special report, and they are all against hunger. Is it not expecting too much that, among these, they will come up with a solution to this shameful problem? Yet had there not set a better market for hot air?

Ernest Bell,  
Saskatoon, S.C.

### DIPLOMATS ON ICE

When I read about federal officials planning to give \$400 passes to visiting foreign ministers and their wives, I was very upset ("Fees for some high-flying visitors," *Opening Notes*, Feb. 19). If these diplomats are to



*McDonald's in Moscow* (Peter

### A DRAMATIC INTERVIEW

With a new change it was to read *Entertainment Weekly's* reacquisition of its 1993 interview with Nelson Mandela ("Meeting in the underground," Cover, Feb. 12). The advocacy magazine, like other television and newspaper—the actual telling of the story—is often lost to formulas concocted to please marketing needs. Gord's dramatic narrative gives all of us who despair at the demographic rendering of the Canadian media new hope.

Barry Delaney,  
Vancouver

### SUBSIDIZING AN ADDICTION

It is hard to believe that Health Minister Pitten Brady, who wants to put warnings on tobacco packages ("Warning smokers," *Health*, Feb. 12), is working for the same government that commits millions of dollars to loans and subsidies to tobacco farmers, lighting up with one hand, and loaning out with the other?

John McRae,  
Vancouver

Letters are welcome and may be condensed. Please include address, telephone number, and information to guarantee the editor. Mail to: Letters Manager, Maclean's Avenue (Box 1012), Bay St., Toronto, ON M5A 1A7.

### PASSAGES

**MARRIED!** Former international gymnastics star Nadia Comaneci, 38, who defected to the United States from Romania on May 24, and Mihai Vasilescu, 36, a computer engineer now living in Romania. She said that the couple will make their wedding plans when he joins her in a few months. Comaneci, who made gymnastics history at the 1976 Montreal Olympics with the first perfect 10-point score, earned a second after her defection when she was romantically linked with Constantine Pavlou, 36, a Romanian radio who is married with four children. But Comaneci said that she is from Russia's Hollywood, Fla., neighbor only because he is managing her best shot at a successful start for her family.



**DEAD.** Former Salvadorean president José Napoleón Duarte, 64, who in 1984 became the country's first democratically elected president in 50 years, but failed to end his country's 18-year civil war, after a two-year battle with left and stomach cancer, at his San Salvador home. After Duarte's party lost the March, 1986, elections, Alfredo Cristiani, leader of the right-wing Arely party, replaced him as president.

**DEAD.** Filmmaker, publisher Malcolm Forbes, 70, of a heart attack in his sleep, at home in Pal Hills, N.J. Forbes was his son's motorcycle and parties—including a \$2.3-million lecture tour that drew some of the top names in business and entertainment to Tangier, Morocco, last August—Forbes published the business magazine that bears his name.

**DEAD.** Outspoken anti-Communist author and journalist Victor Lasky, 77, of abdominal cancer, at hospital near his Washington home. Lasky's best-known works include *J. P. T., the Miss and the Myth* (1983) and *Robert F. Kennedy, the Myth and the Man* (1980).

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# OPENING NOTES

Gary Hart tries to change the subject, Svend Robinson gets his way, and Gary Filmon switches pollsters

## CONTROVERSY ON CAMPUS

The two-day event was to be a wide-open forum for debate on subjects ranging from freedom to free speech. But shortly before 1,000 Canadians and U.S. high school delegates assembled at Toronto's Upper Canada College last week, tech critics at federal law journals criticized Svend Robinson, who was then the chair of the World Athlons Conference, for his speech. In response, conference organizers of the private school responded in invitation to Gerrit Pretorius, the first secretary of the South African Embassy in Ottawa. He had been asked to deliver a speech on the relationship between



Upper Canada College: concern

trade sanctions and the improvement of human rights. Robinson, however, told *Maclean's* that he would not attend the same conference as a South African government representative—even after such recent changes in South Africa as the freeing of Nelson Mandela. Said Robinson: "I could not participate in an event that included a representative of the only government in the world that annexes regions in its countries." Still, student organizer Andrew Williams said that the threat of potential demonstrations by anti-apartheid groups was the real reason that the organizers withdrew the invitation to Pretorius. Said Williams: "It's in the middle of a fund-raising campaign, and we didn't want the controversy. Svend Robinson, quite honestly, is reprehensible." Learning the value of principles—and courtesy—can be difficult.

## Scoring plays at the supermarket

The Toronto Maple Leafs are currently the National Hockey League's top sharpshooters—and with 25 goals after 46 games, the team is on pace to surpass last season's entire offence production (255 goals) by about 100 goals. But a freeroll display of that magnitude will cost the art supermarket chain about \$100,000 in additional expenses. That's because participating grocers, entitled "Score and Win," will have a Leaf player assess a goal, and contest officials then award a \$100 cash prize entry from firms fitted out by grocery stores. Then there's the cost of the winners: each gets a color TV set or a 35-arc camera, prizes that retail between \$800 and \$1,500. Then there's an incentive with *Progressive*, the Toronto-based firm that is running the contest, which edged that the Leaf players had surpassed



the company's assessment of their scoring ability. Still, and Ross. "The more goals we give away, the happier we are. There's a ripple effect, which sees more people shopping at *Score*." Some are buying home more than just bacon.

## NEW BOTTLES, BUT NO BEER

According to Molson Breweries of Canada president John Carroll, pairing Molson Special Dry Lager on the bottles helped them overhaul their four per cent of Canada's crowded beer market. Still, Carroll recalled his sleepless weeks before the brew's launch last March—when he learned that rival John Labatt Ltd. knew what the top-secret bottles looked like. They found out because there's still factory rejects of the new bottles—and happened to seek refunds on the 200 unmarketable empties when a Labatt's employee was also in the beer store.



Gorbachev, Hart; an interview after 10 days each month in Russia

## ONE FOR THE BOOK IN MOSCOW

After revelations about his extramarital affair with Florida model Diana Rea, noted Gary Hart's campaign for the presidency in 1987, the former U.S. senator has kept busy practicing law in Denver. During the past year, Hart has also spent 10 days of each month in the Soviet Union, where he has interviewed every prominent political figure there. Michael Gerashechko, according to Rea & Rea editor Michael Rea, Hart will happen to spend some time with the Soviet

leader for a forthcoming book entitled *The Second Russian Revolution*, a work that the New York City based firm expects to publish in the spring of 1990. Said Rea, who helped prepare the English-language version of Gerashechko's 1987 book, *Pravda*: "In that attempt on Hart's part to touch the subject, it may be that he has legitimate reasons for doing the book." Hart's book is likely to generate at least one question: Will Rea get an autographed copy?



Dolphins at play: re-enacting a mating ritual

## Everyone out of the pool

U.S. aquatic centres are profiting from the traditional mutual fondness between humans and dolphin for a \$50 fee, tourists at three sites in Florida and another in Hawaii are leaping with the friendly mammals for up to 30 minutes. But animal-rights advocates recently persuaded the department of commerce to consider banning the practice on the grounds that it needlessly experiments dolphin life spans—due to disease. In addition, many dolphin say that women are risking serious injury by playing with female whales, which weigh about 700 lb. each. According to Mac Hull, a biological administrator with the Florida Marine Research Institute in St. Petersburg, male dolphins frequently become sexually aroused when women come near them. In fact, they will ram women from one end of the pool to the other, re-enacting a dolphin courting ritual. Mac Hull, a former legal secretary, who recently had a male dolphin ram against her after she got into the pool. "He liked me a lot, I was really scared." Added Hull, who expressed concern that such normally friendly dolphins might even attack women. "Older male dolphins become less tame and exhibit behaviour that is undesirable for a swim program," drawing a cold shower on the whale encounter.

## THE POLITICS OF POLLING

During the past 10 years, Toronto-based Decision Research Ltd. has been the polling firm of choice for Progressive Conservatives, serving the federal party and their organizations in seven previous. But last December, the company lost its first party account when Manitoba Premier Gary Riesenberg replaced Dennis with Winnipeg-based Western Opinion Research Inc. Said one prominent Manitoba Tory, noting that Filmon is expected to call a provincial election this fall: "It does not hurt to have a weatherman doing the job." For his part, Decision researcher Allen Gregg blamed the cancellation in part on Filmon's opposition to the Meech Lake accord. He added, "How can I work for both Brian Mulroney and Gary Filmon when that is going on?"

## AN INVESTMENT IN DEMOCRACY

Swapping choices in Eastern Europe are generating work for advisors with a specialty: the U.S. Constitution. According to Rutgers University law professor Albert Blaustein, Canadian and other continental governments, lead by progressive-turned-president Vaclav Havel, are returning to Poland and Hungary to hire these experts—so that a democratic constitution will make Congress more likely to give them long aid.



Albert Blaustein: helping the Eastern Europeans





## CANADA/COVER

## TAKING THE RAP

**TM PROBABLY THE PRINCIPAL CULPRIT, SAID MULRONEY OF THE TORIES' UNPOPULARITY**

**S**now fell gently from the grey Ottawa sky onto the shoulders of Canada's new justice minister as she gave her first news conference last week in the open air outside Ottawa's Rideau Hall. She had been sworn in only a few days earlier. Kim Campbell, 42, a bright, blonde and personable Vancouver lawyer who brings to her new job a fluency in five languages, a background in Soviet studies and a personal view that abortion should be a matter of a woman's private choice (page 10). She will need stamina as well as skill in the months ahead. Campbell's first assignment is to shepherd controversial new legislation on abortion through the House of Commons. Her bar appointment, as part of a shuffle that managed 25 posts in a new 29-member cabinet, capped a week of activity by the Conservatives that was directed at an even more difficult task: putting a new face on the least popular government

since polling began in Canada during the Second World War.

The verdict on the Tories' performance emerged from a Gallup poll released last week. It reported that only 19 per cent of desisted voters would support the party in an election held at the rate of polling. By contrast, nearly half—47 per cent—would cast ballots for the last-ditch Liberal party, and 27 per cent would vote for the New Democratic Party. Gallup released its numbers amid a flurry of activity by the Tories. On Tuesday, Finance Minister Michael Wilson presented a 1990-1991 budget that contained no new taxes—the first federal budget in 22 years to accomplish that feat. Then, on Friday, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney unveiled a cautious shuffle of his cabinet, including Campbell's appointment, but left untouched the group of senior ministers who direct the government's central policy, among them Deputy Prime Minister Donald Macdonald and Wilson himself. And two

## Mulroney, Wilson: budget, cabinet shuffle

hours later, Mulroney completed the one-two-three combination of headline-grabbing measures by holding his first formal news conference in three years.

**Mulroney:** It was a measure of the party's standing with the public, however, that most of the questions directed at Mulroney during the 45-minute appearance dealt with neither the budget nor that morning's cabinet shuffle. Instead, it was a few questions over the deslotted Meek Lake memorandum accord, the fractions spent of Canada's two linguistic groups, transfers in the East and West Coast fisheries and his own party's plunge in the polls. Perhaps, too, the Prime Minister acknowledged the obvious: "We are down in the polls," he told reporters. "I can't deny that. We've been trying to do some pretty ugly things."

Then, Mulroney took personal responsibility for his party's poor standing, noting, "For the party, the principal culprit when it comes to that."

For Mulroney made it clear that he has no intention of dropping such unpopular initiatives as the new corporate Goods and Services Tax (GST) scheduled to take effect in January 1991. He also insisted that the principal culprit

"We are going to keep doing them" because we think they have to be done, on behalf of the country," Mulroney said. He added, however, that the morning's shuffle of junior cabinet ministers had been decided, at least in part, at reinforcing his party's standing in the polls. And, as a measure that might have been intended to ease the mood of war-and-groceries Conservatives, he declared: "The only thing worse than being the Prime Minister at 20 per cent is being leader of the Opposition at 30—three years from an election."

**Rescue:** Still, the second question directed at the Prime Minister underscored the challenge facing the Tories as they try to restore their popularity. A reporter from Quebec's *Radio-Canada* asked Daniel L'Heureux, asked what Mulroney plans to do to rescue the Meek Lake accord.

The agreement will fail if it is not ratified by all 10 provinces before June 23—but the current governments of Manitoba, New Brunswick and Newfoundland all expect Mulroney's attempt to broker a "certain accommodation" when the accord is voted on. And while not entirely ruling out a parallel accord to deal with the dissenting provinces' objections to the existing text, Mulroney said that Ottawa would not take the lead in drafting such a compromise document.

But, on other fronts, the Tory counterattack last week displayed skillful political timing and adroit financial juggling. For his part, Wilson vowed to oppose opposition to the cut by averting any new taxes in his budget plan to spend \$147.8 billion during the next financial year, beginning on April 1. At the same time, Wilson announced \$2.8 billion from existing spending plans, addressing his critics in the financial community who have voiced alarm about Ottawa's mounting debt. He also spent those cuts thinly across a wide range of programs, risking it only that any would be seen as the target of focused public criticism.

Wilson's central goal, plainly, was to demonstrate that Ottawa is firm in its intent to reduce the persistent deficit between its income and its spending on government programs and debt payments. According to the finance minister, the shortfall will shrink to \$3.5 billion at the 1990-1991 fiscal year, measured with \$36.6 billion for the 12 months ending on March 31, 1991, that remains higher than his previous target of \$2.5 billion for the coming year.

**Reduction:** But Wilson clearly understood that the economy is too weak to withstand dramatic cuts in federal spending. Indeed, his own figures indicate that the unemployment rate would rise to 5.5 per cent by the end of this year from its current level of 7.8 per cent. And Wilson forecast that real economic growth would drop to a negligible 1.3 per cent in 1990, compared with 2.6 per cent in 1989.

"This will be a trying year for the Canadian economy," he said in his budget speech. "The economic news will not be encouraging in the months ahead."

Political considerations also lay behind Wilson's decision not to raise taxes. A senior Finance Minister who took part in the budget preparations said that the minister himself personally ruled out any discussion of higher excise taxes on gasoline, tobacco and alcohol. One reason, he said, was that *Caveilles* will have set the budget's \$3.5-billion increase in personal and corporate income taxes and excise taxes imposed

## MEEK LAKE WARNING

Premier Quebec entrepreneur Claude Courteau, chairman of Laurentian Group Corp. of Montreal, said that the failure of the Meek Lake accord would result as a "divorce" between Quebec and Canada. In a speech to 1,500 Montreal businessmen, Courteau declared, "The future of Canada is at stake."

## PARKINSON'S TREATMENT

Spokesmen at Victoria General Hospital in Halifax announced that the hospital will begin a trial program of a controversial method of treating Parkinson's disease later this year. The procedure involves transferring human tissue from aborted fetuses into the brains of patients affected with the disease.

## BATTLING OVER UI

Continuing a three-month-long fight, the Labor-dominated Senate set an amended version of the government's proposed unemployment insurance legislation back to Parliament. Under the Conservative government's scheme, Ottawa would cause an additional \$1.1-billion increase in the \$13-billion insurance plan, which the year amounts to about \$2.9 billion. But the Senate wants the government to continue making up only half of its current contribution in areas where unemployment rates at rates lower than six per cent.

## SUPPORT FOR FRENCH

In the wake of decisions by 39 Ontario municipalities to declare themselves English-only, Toronto city council passed a motion recognizing Canada's bilingual status. Therefore at the moment, the town of Hockleywood, east of Ottawa, declared itself to be bilingual, while in Bellville and Weston municipal politicians rejected English-only motions.

## SUSPICIOUS CONTAMINATION

At least seven people were contaminated after drinking radioactive water from a cooler in a coffee room at the Post-Secondary student station in New Brunswick, and 100 Power officials said that they could not rule out sabotage. The water was trying to determine how the radioactive water got into the cooler.

## MURKIN CITY

Montreal was the murkiest capital of Canada last year, recording 135 homicides—up from 113 the year before—for a rate of 6.18 per 100,000 inhabitants. Statistics Canada said that three other cities had rates higher than those per 100,000—Edmonton at 3.6, Winnipeg at 3.15 and Vancouver at 3.3.



## 'WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO SOME PRETTY UNPOPULAR THINGS'

in the previous year's budget—the full effect of which will not be felt until this year. "For strategic reasons, the message in the budget had to be 'No new taxes,'" a senior advisor to Mulroney told *Maclean's*. "We probably could have gone away with another small hike in taxes on cigarettes and beer, but that would have destroyed the no-new-taxes symbolism."

On the spending side, the biggest change was Ottawa's plan to cut its transfers payments to the provinces by \$944 million—accounting for almost one-third of the total projected savings in the budget. Most dramatically, federal contributions towards health care and postsecondary education will be frozen for two years. That provoked a storm of criticism from provincial treasurers, who complained that Watt was trying to dock the political consequences of his attack on the deficit by shifting the burden onto their backs (page 280).

**Crisis.** In another controversial development, Watt announced that, 15 years after the Liberals created Petro-Canada as a federally owned window onto the nozzle oil and gas industry, the Conservatives plan to sell off the company to private investors. An initial sale of 15 per cent of the shares in the company will provide Petro-Canada with a cash infusion of between \$500 million and \$700 million. For his part, Petroleum chairman Wilbert Biggar welcomed the announcement, adding: "The government is as far, for better or worse, to understand this industry than it was a few years ago. The need for a window is not there anymore." But some industry analysts noted that a drop in oil prices could leave the government losing off the remaining 85 per cent of Petro-Canada—in several stages over the next five years—at bargain-basement prices. And some critics charged that the plan was a blow to Canadian sovereignty. Said Nova Scotia Liberal MP Russell MacLellan: "We have lost control of oil and gas except for Petro-Canada. The only thing that had to assure cooperation was that [Petrocan] was in there."

In the cabinet shuffle three days later, Campbell was the clearest winner. She visited from the power role of minister of state (Indian Affairs) to the important justice ministry. Only Mr. MP was elevated to cabinet rank for the first time: Quebec Liberal Diane, 46, who became minister of state for sport and youth. But another winner was New Brunswick MP Bernard Valcourt, named to the troublesome Fisheries portfolio. He left the cabinet last summer after a motorcycle accident, which led to a \$600 fine for impaired driving (page 24).

Among the other changes: Thomas Stelzer, acknowledged by Mulroney to have spent too long in the Fisheries portfolio, moved to Indian Affairs and Northern Development instead. Béaupré Boudreau, the transport minister who shepherded Via Rail's passenger service last year,

departed primarily as he maneuvered anti-*file* Conservatives dismayed at the party's low standing in the polls by presenting Mulroney as an accessible leader who is already in charge of the government's agenda.

With the House of Commons adjourned this week for a winter break, at least some members of the opposition were forced, grudgingly, to concede that the Tory strategy had proved effective. Said Liberal trade-minister Lloyd Axworthy, for one: "We have got a real problem because of all the diversionary tactics. It is going to be very hard to reflect [the attack] when we come back in 16 days."

Meanwhile, Mulroney planned to keep up the pace of the Tory counteroffensive this week. The Prime Minister and his wife, Mila, planned to go to Trois-Rivières, Que., on



**Malroney, Crosbie** (after swearing in: posing a new face on the government)

Sunday last week that some of the committee's eight members—Macdonald, Whalen, External Affairs Minister Jim Clark, International Trade Minister John Crosbie, Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard, Treasury Board President Robert de Courcy, Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall and Senator Lowell Murray—might be on their way out, in the end nobody was.

**Strange.** Shortly after the new minister's announcement, Mulroney appeared for the first time in more than three years on the blue-bladed stage of the news conference atmosphere in the National Press Building across from Parliament Hill. The setting was not so cordial. Indeed, Mulroney and others have made of place in recent weeks that Canadians can expect to see and hear more of their Prime Minister in the months ahead. The intent, they have told

Tuesday to begin a three-day campaign-style round of speeches to local Tory gatherings, interviews with local media and appearances at fêtes, wheels and village fêtes, and a visit to Mulroney's home town of Bas-Cassé. For their part, the 15 newly angriest ministers had just a week to study their new portfolios before they face the opposition's renewed attack when the Commons resumes sitting on March 5. And while Mulroney and his newly unpopular one-year-old government struggle through the challenging early stages of their second term, they can take comfort in at least one reality: an election—the only poll that really counts—does not have to be called for more than three years.

**CRAIG WOOD with ROSS LAFER, E. RAY FOLTON and LINNIE OLIVER in Ottawa**

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COMMENTARY

# THE NUMBERS GAME

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**W**here was Doug Small when Michael Wilson really needed him? Last year's dramatic budget leak by the Global television reporter, less than 38 hours before Wilson was due to present his 1989-1990 tax and spending plans, stirred up such a din that Small took the trouble to examine the dubious details of the finance minister's document. But last week, Wilson had no such luck. And a closer look at his new budget reveals mathematical sleights of hand that would get any self-respecting magician booted off stage.

The budget's transparently pre-achieved bottom line—a deficit of \$26.5 billion projected for fiscal 1990-1991, or spending of \$147.8 billion—is transposed as being \$2 billion less than the previous bottom line on the current year's tax and spending. That's significantly lower than the \$33.2 billion the Toronto Star quoted from the Liberals.

**Bottom:** But repayment of our national debt—the figure that really counts—continues unabated, to \$32.3 billion in 1989-1990, up \$1.5 billion, since Brian Mulroney took power. What is most frightening about the dismal realisation is that our indebtedness ballooned during a time of relative national prosperity, when general revenues climbed by \$170 billion from what Ottawa received during the last half-decade of the Liberal years.

Now, we seem to be in a recession and Ottawa's tax revenues are bound to drop. At the same time, Bank of Canada governor John Crow is maintaining interest rates at such artificially high levels that the traditional two-per-cent gap between Canadian and U.S. rates has increased to a ridiculous five or six per cent, dooming this country to prolonged bad times. Crow seems determined to make the remarkable social generosity of his predecessor, Gerald Bouey, who kept trying to tick inflation by raising his own salary. The current governor's obsession with wringing the inflation rate to zero by driving the country into a full-blown recession is as irresponsible as it will be damaging. Parliamentary Liberal Industry critic Jim Peterman is dead right when he warns that "what's killing Canada's economy is not the disease called inflation, but the medicine called recession."

In his last budget, Wilson was applauded for saving \$4 billion by refusing to build a nuclear-powered submarine fleet. What hardly anyone noticed was that this huge sum was mostly a hypothetical expense projected over the next 20 years or so, except for the \$4 billion already budgeted for preparing blueprints, let-

ting real money was saved from actual government spending. Similarly, this year, the finance minister completely dissolved Canada's hopes of enforcing its sovereignty over the Northwest Passage by halting construction of the Polar 8 icebreakers. The move was heralded as a saving of \$460 million. But that was, too, the final cost of a long-term project, an amount which only \$15 million has been spent so far on design and administration—and \$84 million previously budgeted for the next fiscal year.

The ship, due to be built in British Columbia

these funds would eventually have been transferred to general revenue in any case. That's a tinkering, not creative budget making.

Wilson is only semi-technically correct in his grand proclamation that he isn't imposing any new taxes this year. He isn't. But his 1989 budget introduced strict measures that will raise this year's taxes by \$7 billion—not to mention the big ugly shout to be taken out of our incomes by the proposed seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax, due on the first day of 1991.

But the worst aspect of the Wilson budget is its misleading assumption that the Canadian dollar has stabilized against other currencies and that interest rates will miraculously drop. There is little if any evidence to that direction, unless booms unexpectedly give heavily export-dependent countries temporary boosts. Nearly every private-sector expert I polling has predicted the other way. Dr. Jim Wilson's semi-annual fiscal forecast for this year's short-term interest rates could average 10.1 per cent, or, in fact, they have averaged 12.2 per cent—that results in the government paying \$6-billion more in debt charges than it had forecast and forced the central government to elections in order to manage Wilson's deficit target. While Wilson's current projections for 1991 are not so far out short-term interest rates, private economists expect levels of at least 15.8 per cent. That difference would add at least \$3 billion to Wilson's deficit prediction.

**Tricky:** Michael Wilson is an intelligent man who understands economics, and it is to the expense of police drivers have him to attempt the cheap fiscal trick that characterizes his budget. Sadly still is that we are in such dire economic straits that these measures will mean very much. That's why Wilson's number-crunching calls for a deficit reduction to \$10 billion by 1994-1995. His calculations also show that more public debt will by then have increased to \$450 billion. That is a \$75-billion leap from the current total. According to Wilson's figures, four years from now Canadians will be paying \$1 billion in annual interest on the national debt—precisely what it will cost us, the year. The point, of course, is that the finance minister's calculations prove to be correct, a highly questionable assumption.

That is why, instead of being convicted of any malfeasance, Doug Small should be placed on a government retainer. The only condition would be that on a pre-arranged night, he go on television and wave a paper of paper that steals public attention from the budget itself.

# A MINISTER ON THE FAST TRACK

## KIM CAMPBELL TAKES OVER JUSTICE

**K**im Campbell can laugh now when she recalls how she almost missed being appointed to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's cabinet in January, 1986. On the eve of Mulroney's announcement of his four cabinet following the 1985 federal election, the newly elected Vancouver MP had been summoned to Ottawa for what one of the leader's aides said would be "a private Sunday afternoon chat with the Prime Minister." But after arriving in Ottawa, the aide telephoned again to inform Campbell that the meeting had been postponed "until 7:45." "I thought that they meant 7:45 the next morning, so my husband and I went out to dinner," said Campbell. "When we got home late that night, the Prime Minister's staff had been frantically calling, wondering where we were." By then, Mulroney had left Ottawa for the Prime Minister's Harrington Lake retreat, 200 kilometers of the capital. Only the next morning, after returning through a final night, did Campbell get the call from Mulroney to learn that she had been appointed attorney general for Indian affairs and northern development.

**Reputation:** Last week, Campbell finally got her private audience with the Prime Minister. In the first extensive shuffle of his cabinet since that January day, Mulroney told the 42-year-old former lawyer and teacher that he was boosting her from a junior portfolio into the cabinet's inner circle by making her Canada's first female justice minister. He also named Campbell, a former B.C. M.A. as the federal Conservative party's senior political manager in British Columbia. The cabinet promotion confirmed the status of the multilingual Campbell (English, French, Russian and German) as a rising politician on Ottawa's fast track. But she rejected labels that portrayed her as a political neophyte. "I am an experienced politician," she told Maclean's last week, and on her flight home to Vancouver, where she has been involved in electoral politics since 1980. "It has taken me 10 years to become an overnight sensation."

Campbell's rapid rise as a federal politician has been predicted by many senior Tories over the past year. In a government急切 to search for new faces to growl for its belaguered front bench, many Tories had tested Campbell's willingness to vigorously and eloquently defend controversial Tory policies such as the Meech Lake constitutional accord

and the impending Goods and Services Tax. Sen. Wilson Fox, an Ottawa consultant and former Mulroney communications adviser, "Kim has been followed closely from the time she was a candidate. She is tough, intelligent and very much a team player." But Campbell acknowledges that those qualities will be more closely examined now that she is no longer operating in the relative obscurity of a junior ministry. Among the immediate challenges: shepherding the government's contentious abortion legislation through fiscal steering and securing Tory victories in her home province in the wake of a federal budget that required British Columbians to particular sacrifices.

In Ottawa, attention immediately focused on the fact that Campbell is the first woman to hold the Justice portfolio. Sen. Jennifer Lynch, president of the National R.C. Women's Federation, "This is a historic appointment, which sends a message to women lawyers that they can aspire to the highest legal jobs in the country." Campbell—whose father, George, sister, Alis, and second husband, Howard Eddy, are all lawyers—acknowledged the significance of her achievement. But she did not marvel at the milestone. "Really, you want to get to a situation where gender is no longer much of a consideration," she said. "We are not there yet."

**Background:** Campbell's business and political activities were evident early on. As a student at Prince of Wales Secondary School in Vancouver's West Grey area, Campbell defeated two male opponents in an election for class president. "My mother raised me to be a feminist," she said. "And I was just not prepared to accept that only women on the political left are entitled to call themselves feminists."

Valedictorian of her high school class, Campbell went on to earn extensive academic credentials: an undergraduate honors degree in political science and a master's degree from the University of British Columbia (UBC). In 1976, she enrolled in a doctoral program in Soviet studies at the London School of Economics. She did not finish the program, but she learned to speak Russian. Her academic background, combined with a fondness for quoting from the pantheon of political giants such as Nelson Mandela, has sometimes led observers to label her an intellectual. "The media is always trying to tag people as one-dimensional in their own," she said. "I simply do not walk around all day quoting great professors."

**Skills:** By 1979, Campbell was back in Vancouver, married to Nathan Obensky, a former Vancouver school trustee and alderman, and teaching political science and history at the then Vancouver Community College. Said Campbell, "I love to teach and I am a good teacher because I know how to take complex issues and explain them properly. It is a skill that I was able to transfer to politics."

In October, 1980, Campbell first applied those talents to political ends. She ran for, and won, a seat on the Vancouver school board, subsequently rising to chair the board in 1982. The position, which she held while earning a law degree from UBC, was a nine-degree



Campbell's message to women lawyers

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## IT HAS TAKEN ME 10 YEARS TO BECOME AN OVERNIGHT SENSATION\*

local profile, but also highlighted a political style that earned her enemies. Before school trustee Phyllis Ralston accused her in 1982 of being "Canada's answer to Margaret Thatcher at the school-board level," Béa Ralston retorted: "She believes that intellectuals rule the world go round."

But her profile also attracted the attention of political strategists such as Patrick Kassila, an influential backroom operative for the provincial Social Credit party and Federal Conservatives. Kassila convinced Campbell—who by then was divorced from Devinsky—to run in Vancouver Centre for the Soviets in the 1982 provincial election. "The riding was invisible for the Soviets and Kien was articulating for a law firm at the same time," recalled one Soviet organizer. "But she was remembered as someone who deserved another chance in a safer riding the next time around." Campbell remembers the experience as sobering: "I learned that you should not get seen in your eyes just because a political party asks you to run."

**Attack.** Two years later, she was hired as a policy adviser in then-Premier William Bennett's office, where she worked for 18 months. When Bennett announced his resignation, Campbell dredged herself a candidate for the Social Credit leadership. "I never thought I could win," she said of her \$44,000 campaign for the job. "But I wanted to show that the party had to reach out to women and young people." With 14 votes, Campbell finished last among the 12 candidates in the first ballot. But she made her mark at the convention by writing and delivering a stirring speech, which was widely seen as the B.C. election audience because she spoke just below the two front-runners, Brian Smith and the eventual winner, William Vander Zalm. The speech is memorable for its deadly pointed attack on Vander Zalm, in which she warned that "Guruism without substance is a dangerous disease. It raises expectations that cannot be satisfied. Then comes disillusionment and bitterness that destroys not only the leader, but the party."

The remark drove a wedge between Campbell and Vander Zalm, and despite winning a

seat for the Soviets in the 1986 provincial election, she was left languishing as the party's back-bencher. She broke finally—and bitterly—with the premier over his decision to restrict abortion in the province. Frustrated, and convinced that Vander Zalm would not be forced out, Campbell quit the party in 1988. It ran for the federal Tories, winning the

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After swearing-in: a 'passionate pro-choice' to become abortion



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# CHANGING THE GUARD

## OLD FACES, NEW JOBS

Last week's cabinet shuffle elevated Vancouver MP Jim Campbell to the Justice portfolio and brought former consumer and corporate affairs minister Bertrand Boudreault back from political purgatory to serve as the country's new minister of fisheries and oceans. In all, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney shifted 25 portfolios and reorganized some regional political responsibilities. Some of the most important changes:



**MARY COLLINS**  
MINISTER  
OF WOMEN,  
DEFENCE  
(ASSOCIATE)

'I know  
these chal-  
lengers'

When Bertrand Boudreault had reported on Parliament Hill last week to talk about his appointment as minister of culture, science and technology, a new federal department, he appeared subdued and somewhat disappointed. "I'm excited but very pessimistic," Boudreault said after being sworn into the new cabinet. "I can better serve the government now." But his pessimism may also be a result of the fact that his responsibilities will have had to change progressively more demanding since last fall: his job in the principal of a community college in Brossard, Que.—200 km north of Quebec City—to his election as the senator in 1984.

He immediately entered the cabinet, serving as junior minister of transport for a year. That job was made easier when then-prime minister and political veterans Donald MacLennan and David Crombie worked the unglued Boudreault. But after being promoted to minister of science and technology in December, he was given a relatively轻松-looking 10-month stint as secretary of state—his task on the job more demanding Employment and Immigration portfolio in 1986.

There, Boudreault had to deal with controversies, ranging from hundreds of Thoreau and Sibley trappers on the shores of Alberni Canada to a college building and a longer stretch to illegal Turkish immigrants facing deportation. Annexes for a new assignment, he became transport minister two years later. But that just brought more troubles, including disputes over transport deregulation and a public backlash after he announced cutbacks affecting more than 10,000 of Pitt's passengers and service. Some of those pressures clearly took their toll. In December, 1986, Boudreault, 49, underwent heart-lung surgery—and returned to Ottawa a month later losing 25 lbs.

Boudreault's new post will give him more influence in his home province—and other provinces—because he will have discretion over how industrial development funds are distributed. But the Quebec minister may not remain in Ottawa much longer. Last year, he and fellow Quebec minister Lucien Bouchard considered forming a new Quebec national party if the Parti Québécois were to suffer a crushing defeat in the provincial election. They abandoned the idea after the PQ finished a respectable second. But both Boudreaults (they are not related) have since implied that they may resign from the cabinet—and thus leave if the March 16 accord is not ratified by its May deadline. For now, though, the new minister for industry, science and technology may be able to enjoy a more manageable portfolio.



**BERTRAND  
BOUDREAU  
INDUSTRY,  
SCIENCE  
AND  
TECHNOLOGY**

A more  
manageable  
portfolio

BY GUY  
LAWRENCE

On election night in 1984, Brian Mulroney gathered his family and a few close friends, including Lucien Bouchard, to watch the results on television. When it was confirmed that Mulroney would win a landslide, the Tory leader turned to Bouchard and said, "Lucien, two of my dreams are coming true. Quebecois will be two of the most important jobs in Canada—I am going to be Prime Minister and you are going to Pitts." The following year, Bouchard reluctantly agreed to leave his Oberlin, Que., law practice to become Canada's ambassador to France. But it was only the first step in a campaign by Mulroney to elevate his old school chum—then stashed low together at Laval University—into the upper echelons of Canadian political life. Last week, Mulroney again promoted Bouchard, 41, naming him to replace Communications Minister Mario Miron as the Tories' Quebec political lieutenant while retaining his job as environment minister.

It was another step in Bouchard's rapid rise through the political ranks. In March, 1986, Mulroney brought him back from Paris and appointed him to the cabinet as secretary of state. Three months later, Bouchard won a Commons seat in a by-election in Quebec's Lac St-Jean riding, after the govern-

ment committed \$4 million to spending in the area. Then, after winning re-election in 1988, Bouchard became environment minister in the new cabinet. His latest appointment will give him control over some party jobs and rising status in his portfolio.

In fact, as Mulroney's most trusted Quebec minister, Bouchard has already been performing many of those functions for the past several months. And opposition critics have charged that he has neglected the environment because he is too concerned with Quebec party matters. For now, last year Bouchard promised to issue a five-year master plan designed to safeguard the environment with programs to promote sustainable agricultural development and limit certain chemical emissions. After several review delays, the plan was scheduled late last year to be released along with the federal budget, which was tabled last week. But last month, he announced that the program would be delayed again—perhaps until the fall.

Environmental groups and the Bouchard team feel that Bouchard failed to get cabinet support for the document because he planned it without consulting other government departments—and that the plan remains paralyzed by bureaucratic infighting. "It was a catastrophe for environmental protection," said Ken McIver, policy director for Friends of the Earth, an Ottawa-based environmental group. "Bouchard is naive, but he has not developed anything." And although he was added support among Quebec Tories, his ability to advance his environmental agenda effectively has still to be proven.



**LUCIEN  
BOUCHARD  
ENVIRONMENT;  
SUBSIDIES  
LIEUTENANT**

Still no  
sign of his  
master plan

BY GUY  
LAWRENCE  
ENVIRONMENT

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**THOMAS  
SOPKO  
INDIAN AND  
NORTHERN  
AFFAIRS**

Walking  
into a  
predecessor's  
lap?

BY GUY  
LAWRENCE  
INDIAN AND  
NORTHERN  
AFFAIRS

Indigenous leaders and for northern coasts. And they Northern Development. They have steadily broken bad news for their region: the economy is in a deep recession, and the government is not consulting directly with industry workers clearly unwilling to move to Inuit lands. After was a bad case," said Dennis McGrath, education officer for the Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers union, which represents 1,500 Inuit. "You're regular to the extent measure we've ever had."

The isolated under-educated have probably prospered. Sopko had become at his four years in fisheries minister. Industry workers have steadily broken bad news for their region: the economy is in a deep recession, and the government is not consulting directly with industry workers clearly unwilling to move to Inuit lands. After was a bad case," said Dennis McGrath, education officer for the Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers union, which represents 1,500 Inuit. "You're regular to the extent measure we've ever had."

per cent of the salmon and halibut caught off British Columbia, according to U.S. ports.

Sopko had become fisheries minister in 1985 after his predecessor, John Fraser, now Commons Speaker, was forced to resign following a series of sex tape of himself with a female staffer. Fraser was ousted by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who was elected to the B.C. riding of North Delta in a 1978 by-election. The father of five was first appointed to cabinet as minister of science and technology following the Tory victory in 1984, then shifted into fisheries.

His next assignment promises to be equally controversial. Last month, he demands a national parks agency and says, over budget cuts to the funding for 22 Inuit groups across Canada are among the issues that Sopko will have to deal with. Declared Ovide Mercredi, a regional chief with the Ottawa-based Assembly of First Nations: "Sopko is walking into a powder keg. He's coming in to a department that has as many problems as the one he left."



**DOUGLAS  
LEWIS  
TRANSPORT**

A 'major  
portfolio'  
for a  
neurotic/kid

BY GUY  
LAWRENCE

Lewis, who lost, as well, his position as House leader to Chantal Hebert, also survived relatively unscathed by the move. Calling the Transport job "a major portfolio," Lewis had nothing to say immediately about his new department's most contentious issue: the government's unpopular decision to reduce Via Rail passenger services by more than half.

At 51, Lewis is known as a workaholic, typically arriving at his Parliament Hill office at 7 a.m. and often staying until 10 p.m. He is devoted to his family of five children and wife Linda, who is a first-year law professor at the University of Ottawa. Born and raised in Toronto, he initially followed his father as chartered accountant. But, at 24, he earned Cupcake Hall Law School in Toronto, where he earned his law degree. In the early 1960s, he moved his family to the small central Ontario city of Guelph, where he retains on most weekends.

Representing the Guelph-area riding of Saugeen North since 1979, Lewis has displayed strong political maneuvering ability in the past. He practiced his parliamentary skills in the early 1980s, serving as deputy opposition House leader under the running and fiercely partisan Paul Martin. But after becoming House leader himself, Lewis assumed a style more distant from that of his mentor. Although the legislature he shepherded through the House—including bills on free trade, abortion and the proposed Goods and Services Tax—was surrounded by controversy, he managed to keep himself above the partisan fray. In 1985, Liberal Leader Herb Gray described Lewis as "very stable and congenial." And 1987 House Leader Nelson Riordan remarked that Lewis was the kind of man he could go fishing with. G

# STARTING OVER

A MINISTER RETURNS FROM THE COLD

**B**aldwin Valcourt has shown a taste for danger, in politics and in life. Last July, an evening of racing relatives in his 1,500-cu.-in. Yamaha Midnite Maxx motorcycle in and around Edmundston, N.B., with stops at a bar that resulted in a crash that cost him his vision in one eye, a broken nose, shattered cheekbones and forehead, a dental-dressing extraction and his federal cabinet position. But Valcourt, 38, a New Brunswick lawyer with a gregarious name in both official languages and a respected record as municipal and corporate affairs minister before his accident, was back at Brian Mulroney's side seven weeks later—convening at the Prime Minister's private summer retreat at Harrington Lake. And last week, Mulroney brought Valcourt in from the political cold, naming him minister of fisheries. It is a job that should provide him with more than enough political risk: no one has survived for more than four years at a stretch in the job since 1968.

**Running:** It was a political recovery that many of Valcourt's friends had expected. "He will be back in cabinet soon," Michel Desroches, president of the Society of Authors in Valcourt's home province, predicted shortly after July's accident. But he is taking one of the most difficult and thankless assignments in Ottawa. As the minister responsible for Canada's Fisheries fisheries industry, his new job carries little glamour and far more problems than apparent solutions. On the East Coast, shortages of fish are forcing the closure of many of the plants where they are processed (page 28). On the West Coast, Valcourt will face fisherman's wrath over the first settlement of a dispute under the provisions of the Free Trade Agreement. That dispute allows U.S. fishermen to take as much as 32 per cent of the allowable salmon and halibut out of Western Canada directly to U.S. ports, bypassing Canadian processing plants where it previously had to be landed.

Last week's shuffle also returned Valcourt to the important priorities and pleasing constituency the Prime Minister shares on Tuesdays in Ottawa. Valcourt assumed what he called a "humble" cabinet assignment with obvious glee. Declared the minister in an interview: "I don't intend to spend one tiny winky hour out in Ottawa. The first thing I intend to do is to go and link to the fishermen."

In the fractious fishery, that task may challenge even Valcourt's well-established talents as an advocate. As a small-town lawyer in Edmundston, he fought 45 impaired-driving cases on behalf of clients—and won 37 of them.



Valcourt: after exile for impaired driving, a new job as minister of fisheries

the pleaded guilty in his own case. After winning the riding of Madawaska-Victoria in the 1984 general election, Valcourt was appointed minister of state for small business and tourism in June 1986, and quickly elicited the attention of Mulroney's senior advisers with his strong defense of a potentially winning candidate in Mulroney's major slot designation. Valcourt was assigned among the francophone fibremen of the Maritime, with whom he dealt in the government's spokesman on free trade and Moose Lake, Iles Gaspésie, executive director of the Nova Scotia Deepwater Fisheries Association, called him a "populist, rail-up-your-dear-and-get-down-to-work kind of guy." And Michael Beliveau, president of the Shetland, N.B.-based Maritime Fishermen's Union, described his appointment as "a positive thing for the fishery. The fact that he is French-speaking is important for the political complexion of things."

Valcourt will need that support—and more. Ted forster Toy, a former Greenaway, now deputy minister of fisheries in British Columbia. "The fisheries ministry devours people." But Valcourt clearly let up to the challenge. Said the new minister: "One cannot embark on such a dangerous journey without having fun."

CHRIS WOOD with GREG W. TAYLOR

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# DECENTRALIZING THE TAX SYSTEM

## THE PROVINCES 'MUST DO THEIR PART'

**I**t began as a promising day for Astane Dugane. The president of Saskatchewan's University Hospital spent the morning of Tuesday, Feb. 26, with a dozen senior staff members discussing development plans for the coming year. For several years, the financially strapped Saskatchewan hospital, its treasury besieged by high interest rates and a succession of droughts, had urged the hospital's administrators to find more cost-efficient ways of operating. But recent meetings with provincial health officials, Dugane said, had left her apathetic that the situation was about to change for the better. Then, like that afternoon, federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson dropped in. Budget decentralization, he announced, was freezing or placing strict limits on increases in its transfer payments, which help the provinces pay for their programs, particularly in the areas of health care and postsecondary education. "Our whole plan just fell out the window," Dugane said. "Why did he have to hit our province when we are down?"

Indeed, Wilson's announcement raised fears across the country that hospitals and universities were already suffering from staff shortages, mounting deficits and a shortage of capital funds—right in the face of more economic times. But worried administrators will have to wait to gauge the full impact of the minister's actions. The money transferred annually from Ottawa to the provinces—\$35.1 billion last year—goes to each province's general revenues rather than straight to the particular institutions. As a result, it is up to the provincial governments to decide how to react to their loss in anticipated revenues. The options range from nowhere, through provincial taxes or sales tax, to redirect spending on health, welfare, higher education or other

services, or borrow to maintain current levels. The decisions in each province will become clear when their finance ministers table their own budgets for the coming fiscal year in the near future. Last week, none of those ministers was ready to give a firm indication of



Operating at Saskatchewan's University Hospital: less for health and education

his intentions. But all were unanimous in condemning Ottawa's action. Said a grizzled Clifton Mansfield, Manitoba's finance minister: "My worst fears have come to fruition."

**Budget.** Indeed, Wilson's move was not entirely unexpected. Economists had been forecasting for weeks that Ottawa was eager to pass most of its financial burden onto the provinces. As a result, at locking transfer payments, Wilson argued that the provinces would have little difficulty in absorbing the loss of revenue. He told reporters that the reductions will amount to only one-half of one per cent of potential spending in the coming year, and only 1.25 per cent next year. As well, Wilson's

budget documents showed that 35 cents out of every revenue dollar the federal government spends goes to servicing its debt—compared with an average of 12 cents spent by the provinces in the same way. Wilson also noted that the federal government's program spending has grown by an annual average of less than four per cent during the past five years—compared with 6.4 per cent for the provinces during the same period. Declared Wilson in his budget speech: "Provincial governments must do their part, just as they did to reap the rewards of lower inflation, lower interest rates and sustained economic growth."

In obliging the provinces to do their part, Wilson had the three main forms of transfer payments to work with. He made no changes to unconditional equalization payments, which effectively transfer tax money collected in what are often called the "have" provinces—Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia—to the other provinces. Accounting for \$8.2 billion

lasted to live per cent annually for the next two years, even if provincial spending increases by a wider margin. Finance department officials calculated that the cashflow would save Ottawa \$255 million in projected spending at that period.

**Fraser.** But Wilson said that Ottawa's greatest savings from cutback spending projections would come from a decision to freeze the third and largest portion of the major federal transfer payments—the Established Programs Financing (EPF). These payments provide the federal government's main contributions to programs such as higher education and health care, which, unfortunately, are under provincial jurisdiction. In 1988, Ottawa's EPF payments totalled \$10.6 billion, and they have been growing at a rate of more than four per cent in recent years. By holding to the \$10.6 billion over the next two years, Wilson said that the federal government would cut \$10.9 million in projected spending in 1990-91, since a substantial portion of the \$3.6-billion reduction that he claimed to have made in his budget for the fiscal year beginning on April 1.

It was immediately clear that Ontario, which now will receive \$375 million less in new transfers in the coming year than planned in the 1989 budget, will be the largest revenue loser. But most observers noted that the province's healthy economy and an \$11-million budget surplus for the 1989-90 fiscal year still left it in a relatively strong position. At



GREG W. TAYLOR with correspondent reports

## THE DEFICIT DILEMMA

Three of the 10 provincial governments show a surplus in their current budgets. The others boastred between two and 31.3 per cent of the money that they spent in this fiscal year. The deficits, in billions, are shown in red at left.

\* Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Ontario and British Columbia include other surpluses of \$200.6, \$1.3, \$1.1 million and \$10.6 million respectively.

# A CURIOUS PASSAGE

**VACLAV HAVEL,  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S  
DISSIDENT-TURNED-  
PRESIDENT, IS  
HAILED AS A HERO  
IN NORTH AMERICA**

**V**aclav Havel, whose metamorphosis from political prisoner to Czechoslovakia's president is a striking symbol of the remarkable changes taking place in Eastern Europe, profited from and upon whose trials to auto and film. But the diminutive playwright wore more formal clothes for his first official visit to North America last week—and his discomfort was readily apparent. Speaking to Havel at the White House, President George Bush said: "For years, as a dissident, subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, you could never go without your toothbrush in your pocket. Now, as president, you can never go out without one of these jackets."

Even in the portraits of dynasticity, Havel presented a rampled figure somewhere balanced by his constant change of mood that no very human and somewhat American captain had. During the Canadian portion of his visit, which began on Feb. 10, Havel met Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and urged Czechoslovakian dissidents to go home. Audiences in Ottawa and Toronto wept and shouted "Long live Havel!" as he declared the " velvet revolution." That had ignited the Communist regime in Prague. Flying to Washington on Feb. 19, Havel received a hero's welcome from Bush and, flanked by Vice-President Dan Quayle and House Speaker Thomas Foley, was flying ovations from Congress.

Questioning that he found it "very strange indeed" to be president of a country where he had been arrested only four months previously, Havel said that he was not asking for American aid. But legislators proposed expanding the U.S. aid program begun last year for Poland and Hungary to include Czechoslovakia and other countries emerging from Soviet domination. Bush also promised most-favored-nation trading status for Prague and said that he



Havel (seated) with Quayle and Foley in Congress; an appeal to help the Soviets

would look at aid for redemptions in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

In Canada, Havel did not receive any specific offers of assistance, beyond an economic and cultural relations agreement signed in Montreal by his prime minister, Martin Coata, and Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. He spent private time with old friends and Czechoslovakian émigrés. Among them were Toronto writer Josef Sládek and his wife, Blanka, who founded a publishing house. Sixty-eight publishers, after their defection from Czechoslovakia,

had sought refuge in Canada while Havel organized in jail his human rights activities.

The 58-year-old Havel has fought the sheets of communism for two decades. He has been in and out of prison, spending a total of more than five years behind bars. Asked by reporters in Prague what had best prepared him for the job of president, Havel replied: "Jail. In the first place, it might not be so surprised by anything. Second, it cultivated in me some

strength which I need for this office. Third, it taught me for the solving of many problems we have to deal with, such as the state security and the state forces in our country."

Havel was born in Prague, where his father was a wealthy building contractor and had owned the Bartramovice estates, the diminished Slovensko in Czechoslovakia. After the Communists took over in 1948, Havel's upper-middle-class background made him suspect, and officials planned to allow him to attend university. He declined to do so and started writing—in his first critical essays were published when he was 18. He then fled to Paris, joined a magazine as a writer, and began to write plays about the difficulties of life under communism. His first two productions, *The Good Party* and *The Memorandum*, attracted attention abroad, leading to his first try on the United States for an off-Broadway opening in 1968.

After the Soviet invasion in August of that year, Havel spoke out against President Gustav Husák. In 1977, Havel and other dissidents founded a human rights organization, Charter 77, which led to a prison sentence. Following his release, he helped to found the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted in 1978, earning him a 2½-year prison term. The letters he wrote to his wife during those years were later published in Toronto as *Letters to Giga*.

Because of his dissident activities, Havel was forced to work as a baker in a bakery. But, although his play was banned in Czechoslovakia, the government allowed him to collect foreign royalties in hard currency and buy luxuries unavailable to most of his countrymen. He lived in a comfortable apartment in Prague.

He died in his sleep in 1989.

Mulroney and Havel: 'From jail to the castle'



WILLIAMS JENSEN AND  
DUSTY MACKENZIE are  
in Washington

and owned a Mercedes-Benz. The government pressured him to emigrate, but he refused, even declining to go abroad to accept dozens of prizes because of concern that he would not be allowed back into his native country.

Havel spent another four months in prison only last year, trying to play a small role at the grave of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death in protest after the 1968 invasion. In October, Havel was detained again on the eve of anticipated protests against the faltering Communist regime. But he resigned soon afterward, and the newly relieved Havel was summoned to the residence of the Czechoslovak ambassador on Dec. 20. Greeted by what he called "the curious presence from just the castle," Havel indicated that he did not want to stay in office after just one election. "I have a better profession," he said.

But on his way to North America last week, the playwright confounded that he might accept another presidential term. "If I were really certain that it is unavoidable," in Ottawa and again in Toronto, where Havel addressed Czech and Slovaks again, he heard schools on an ethnic rivalry that has been dormant in his own country. Asked if he might adopt Czech's custom of duplicating services in both official languages to satisfy Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the president shot back: "We believe in progress, but not at home." His answer provoked laughter and clapping applause. Later, meeting with Ontario Premier David Peterson and federal Trade Minister John Crosbie, Havel joked about Canada's budget: "I'll have to equalize to the soup in the premier will have some money left."

In a mere seven days, two days later in Washington, Havel told Congress that the last may it could not be done to help the Soviet Union on its unavoidable but unusually complicated road to democracy. "The sooner the Soviet Union achieves political pluralism and a market economy, the better," he said. "The world will be a better place." Cross-party applause. "Not for the whole world," he added while he acknowledged that the presence of NATO troops was still necessary to stabilize Europe, he added. "Sooner or later, Europe must recover and decide for itself how many of those soldiers it needs."

Havel ended his U.S. visit with a trip to New York City and another hectic official schedule. But the playwright-president took a night off to walk the streets of lower Manhattan, where he was finally able to take off his tie.

## World Notes

### REAGAN TESTIMONY

In videotaped testimony before a Federal Court in Los Angeles, former president Ronald Reagan said that he was unaware that funds from U.S. arms sales to Iran were diverted to the Nicaraguan rebels in 1985 and 1986. He was testifying in court over the trial of his former national security adviser, John Poindexter. Reagan, 79, denied that he was involved in the Iran-contra affair, an "operation that was taken in my interest," he reportedly answered questions with "I don't recall," wanting, "I, to this day, do not recall our having that there was a diversion."

### THE RIGHT TO SICKEN

The President of the Supreme Soviet proposed a law allowing republics the right to secede from the Soviet Union. The law provides for an immediate proposal to be drafted by a referendum in the republic concerned. President Mikhail Gorbachev proposed a constitutional amendment at January's trip to Lithuania, where he tried to persuade intellectuals and workers supporting secession that staying in a reformed Soviet Union offered them their best hope for the future.

### IRELAND LIFTS SANCTIONS

At a European Community meeting in Dublin, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd announced that his government would unilaterally lift its ban on new investment in South Africa after failing to convince the rest of the EC countries to follow suit. Hurd argued that lifting the ban was a sensible first step to encourage the legislature of the African National Congress and the freeing of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

### CHINA HUMAN RIGHTS CHARGES

Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Li Baogen denied on Feb. 22 that "famines and laws" a U.S. state department report on human rights that is critical of the Beijing government. The report accused Chinese police of using "abductions and酷刑" in quelling protests in Tibet, and of the scale of carrying out a massacre in Beijing last June when a "peaceful student-led movement seeking greater freedom for China's people was crushed."

### HELICOPTERS CRASH

In Panama, 13 U.S. soldiers were killed when two U.S. Army helicopters crashed separately in thick jungle terrain during a反政府运动. A spokesman for the U.S. Southern Command said that there is no indication that anything other than bad weather caused the helicopters to crash.



# MAZDA TAKES AIM AT SMALL THINKING.

## INTRODUCING THE 1990

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## EAST GERMANY

# Accepting the inevitable

*The two Germanys speed towards unification*

**T**he crowd chanted "Helmut, Helmut" as the West German chancellor approached the podium in stately Cathedral Square, in the heart of the East German city of Erfurt, last week. And when the results of conversations introduced Helmut Kohl as the "chancellor of our German fatherland" more than 100,000 spectators responded with a thunderous cheer. "We are one people," declared Kohl, reiterating his earlier call for a rapid reunification of the two Germanys. And Kohl, who was in Erfurt to campaign for a coalition of three conservative parties running in East Germany's March 18 elections, pledged that West German businesses would soon help to establish a "soaring" economy in the East. Still, East German officials have complained bitterly about Kohl and other West German politicians campaigning in the East, claiming that it reflects an arrogant approach to unification. Those concerns were evident on the fringes of the crowd in Erfurt, where protesters heckled Kohl and unfurled a banner saying "Unter, yet Kohlmann, no."

Representatives of almost all of the major political parties in East and West Germany have said that they accept reunification as inevitable, only the timing and the method remain unclear. But the euphoria that surrounded the overthrow of East Germany's last dictator last October has given readers fast-moving uncertainty about the future. On the day before Kohl's visit to Erfurt, a relatively modestly remunerated East German administrator of industry, Ulrich Krock, drove the section of the Berlin Wall near the city's historic Brandenburg Gate. Several East German border guards stood apathetically. The president of a strong united Germany, with nearly 80 million people and one of the world's most robust economies, has also raised concerns in other European countries where citizens suffered under Nazi Germany's onslaught in the Second World War. And East Germany's reform-Conservative leaders have said that they fear their country's social security system will

be swept away as the rush towards unity. Last week, a visibly angry East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow conceded that Bonn had to give his country \$30.5 billion in immediate economic assistance. He told his country's parliament that East Berlin would not



Kohl (center) in Erfurt: 'chancellor of our German fatherland'

"lose its unified Germany as a bridge." And although East and West German officials sat down last week for preliminary talks about monetary union, Modrow said that Bonn will have to provide substantial aid before currency talks can be successfully concluded. Modrow also wanted the East German in English communiqué to assure Germany's poorer borders. So far, Kohl has said only that he will make promises on behalf of a united Germany.

Last week in Warsaw, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki also demanded that both Germanys independently retrace claims on any part of Polish territory. And Mazowiecki insisted that Polesians win a seat in the so-called two-plus-four talks, at which the two Germanys will sit down with the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—the postwar occupying powers—to work out a new security arrangement for

eastern Europe.

Bonn has rejected Polish participation. But Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said last week that Poland must not be "left out" of negotiations. And officials at NATO headquarters in Brussels last week that the United States, Britain, France and West Germany had agreed to consult after NATO meetings, including Canada, as the reunification process.

Kohl is attracting resistance from within the 12-member European Community to some parts of his reunification agenda. In early February, EC Industry Commissioner Marin Bagozzi, a West German, declared that Bonn would pay 70 to 80 per cent of the cost of reunification, but he added, "These will have to be a shift of resources within the community to cover the rest." The total amount could be staggering. West German analysts say that it

could run between \$600 billion and \$720 billion to merge the two countries' monetary systems and bring East German economic structures up to Western levels. British Foreign Minister Margaret Thatcher has fairly refused to pay any part of the bill. And other EC leaders are expected to support her. The issue is likely to provide a showpiece at West Germany's when EC leaders meet in Dublin in April.

Meanwhile, many East Germans have expressed concern that their savings will be severely reduced if the West German mark, the deutsche mark, is accepted as the joint currency at free-market rates, by which the East German currency, the mark, is valued at only about one-tenth of its Western counterpart. Last week, many East Germans lined up at banks to clear out their accounts and purchase items of long-term value, including refrigerators and washing machines. Many West Germans are simply leaving, fleeing to the West at a rate of 2,000 a day.

According to an opinion poll by the Central Institute for Social Research in Berlin, published last week, three-quarters of West Germans support reunification. But only a third of the 1,400 people polled said they wanted a united Germany to have a West German capital, Berlin, and half said that they preferred entry to take the form of a German confederation in which West and East Germany would remain politically autonomous. Still, with most of the economic and political influence on the Western side, East Germans may soon find themselves in a united, federal and capitalist Germany—whether they like it or not.

MARY NEMETH and JOHN WILLIAMS in East Berlin and PETER LIEBHOLD in Brussels

# CLEAN AIR BRIGHT FUTURE





Everybody wants clean air and a bright future. But what can we do to make it happen? We're the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers' Association. As Canadian automakers, we are making sure our vehicles contribute as little as possible to pollution. We'd like to offer you some information about air pollution and what we're doing, what to expect in the future, as well as some tips on what you can do to help.

### Where does air pollution come from?

**A**ny matter put into the air can pollute. It can come from natural sources like volcanoes, swamps, forests, livestock. And it can come from manmade sources like factories, power plants, and cars and trucks. Ever since people first learned to use



fire most manmade air pollution has been caused by burning fuels and, as we have industrialized, also through the introduction of many new materials and processes. The term smog is used to describe the results of these pollutants and their reactions together.

### Let's clear the air about cars and trucks

**B**ut air pollution would be a lot worse today if Canada's automakers hadn't already introduced improved pollution control systems on cars and trucks over the last several decades.

The results are pretty amazing:

A 1990 car gives off 90% less of the three major polluting gases than a 1970 car and 1990 trucks give off 75% less.



That's because pollution control devices cut down these gases: hydrocarbons (HC), carbon monoxide (CO) and oxides of nitrogen (NOx).

At the same time, we have cut average passenger car fuel consumption and carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions in half.



### Some of the future is already bright

**C**ar emissions of HC and NOx will go down by 50% by the year 2000 according to federal government estimates as the new cleaner vehicles replace older ones. And that's with more vehicles on the road.



be as great as 80% from fleet turnover alone — and we are always researching ways to make more improvements.

Catalytic converters, exhaust gas recirculation systems, electronic fuel injection, and on-board computers have all done a great job in reducing air pollutants from cars and trucks.

In fact, some of our studies show that the reduction in total car and truck emissions could



### What else can be done?

**D**edicated car and truck company researchers are working hard on advanced engine concepts and emissions control technologies as well as exploring alternate fuels such as methanol, ethanol, natural gas, and reformulated gasoline. Lots more research, development and testing is being done to be sure of how alternate fuels might work their safety and their environmental benefits.



And there are other quicker ways of reducing emissions. Gasoline manufactured with lower "volatility" helps reduce those vapours you see rising from gasoline on a hot day. Using lower volatility gasoline across the country would significantly reduce HC levels in the summer.

Measures can be taken to prevent the escape of vapours throughout the entire gasoline distribu-

tion system, including those which escape from gas pumps during refueling.

Emissions from old and new trucks could be cleaner today if the sulphur content in diesel fuel was reduced. And new engines being developed to cut emissions even more will need this low sulphur diesel fuel.

And much more work needs to be done on ways to reduce the emissions of HC, CO, and NOx from factories, power plants, commercial activities, and rail, marine, and air transportation. These other sources now contribute well over half of the total emissions and because cars and trucks are becoming so much cleaner, they'll be an even bigger part of the problem in the future.

### What next?

**E**xisting vehicle emissions standards set by the Canadian government are among the most stringent in the world and are the same as in the United States. Both governments are now proposing even stricter standards.



As motor vehicle manufacturers, we are working hard to develop the technology

And because our auto industry is closely linked to the American industry by the 1965 Auto Pact, it only makes sense that the standards and the timetable for meeting them be the same in the two countries. It makes economic sense — so we can keep the cost so you, the consumer, down — and it makes environmental sense — because we share the air.





## You can make a difference

**✓** You can help reduce air pollution by carefully planning your trips to use the least fuel, driving within speed limits, and keeping your vehicle running well.

**✓** Follow the maintenance steps and schedules in your owner's manual. At the specified times the oil must be changed, filters and sparkplugs replaced, fuel injectors cleaned, and drive belts checked. Keep your tires at the correct pressure and inspect them regularly.



**✓** Follow the winter preparation instructions in your owner's manual — check the battery, use the right grade oil and a block heater — all will help your car or truck to start better and more quickly with lower emissions.



**✓** Be aware of changes in performance which might signal problems. Check that you continue to get good fuel economy.



- ✓ Turn off the engine if you're going to be idling longer than a few minutes.



All these measures not only save you gasoline and future repair bills, they also keep your tailpipe emissions down.

### DO NOT:

**✗** DO NOT tamper with the catalytic converter. It is the main emissions control system engineered especially for your car. Leave it alone!



**✗** DO NOT use the wrong fuel. Leaded gasoline is being phased out in Canada and in the meantime, don't use it. You will ruin your catalytic converter and cause other damage to the anti-pollution systems in your car or truck.



## About the MVMA

The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers' Association is the association of the major manufacturers of cars and trucks helping to make Canada the seventh largest producer of motor vehicles in the world.

Our members are: Chrysler Canada, Ford of Canada, General Motors of Canada, Mack Canada, Navistar International, Paccar of Canada, Volvo Canada, Western Star Trucks.

The members of the MVMA are committed to continuing the search for cleaner emissions from cars and trucks and from our manufacturing processes.

The MVMA has published this brochure to inform consumers about the important environmental issue of tailpipe emissions.

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## WORLD



Koichi (left) blackening the second eye of his demon doll: a trade imbalance

### JAPAN

## Voting against change

*The ruling party wins a fight for survival*

Before any major endeavor, Japanese custom calls for the coloring of a single eye of a *fukinuki "demon" doll* with black paint. When the doll's owner has successfully completed his task, he blackens the second eye. Last week, as voters were counted from the Feb. 10 elections in the lower house of parliament in Tokyo, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, with a paintbrush ready for the coloring of his second eye, was relieved because his Liberal Democratic Party had just won a fight for its political survival. Two prime ministers and several cabinet ministers had resigned in the past year over bribery and sex scandals.

The LDP's public appeal had plummeted to historic lows, and the liberal opposition had launched a serious challenge to the ruling party's 30-year hold on power. Despite those obstacles, the LDP had only 25 of its 285 seats, retaining a comfortable majority in the 512-seat lower house. Still, Tokyo political analyst Motoshi Tada, "Most Japanese are conservative in their daily-life lives. We don't want political change."

The voters chose the familiar from the untested elected opposition hopes of becoming part of a left-wing coalition government. Stel, Takao Doi, the popular female leader of the largest opposition group, the Japan Socialist

Party (JSP), celebrated the winning of 136 seats, up from 83 seats in the last parliament. That strong finish, following the Socialists' sharing victory last summer in elections to the parliament's upper house, will make the LP a formidable challenge to the political dominance that the LDP has enjoyed since 1955. But the election results indicated that most Japanese have chosen to support the LDP's continuing control in which LDP members and bureaucrats profit from unopposed deals and by the Diet's public and real estate conglomerate. In fact, voters re-elected 15 of 12 candidates linked to the Diet's business, including former prime ministers Yoshirō Mori and Noboru Takeshita.

The LDP's victory was at least a partial vindication of Koizumi, whom the beleaguered party turned to last August as a compromise choice because of what has been called his "Mr. Clean" image. In a forecastly that week, Koizumi will be confirmed as LDP presidential and prime minister. But the length of his tenure may be decided by numerous looming issues. The most acute: increasing pressure from Washington for Japan to reduce its \$164-billion annual trade surplus with the United States.

Japanese say that because Washington had agreed to postpone the G8 summit until after the elections, U.S. trade negotiators will now expect quick results to reward their patience. But Koizumi has also made enormous political concessions to business. Even while victoriously Mackayizing the eye of his demon doll last week, the prime minister faced the painful prospect of either dismantling the electricity or freezing off a half-pledged trade war with the United States.

ANDREW RILSKI with SHIJIRO SUGIMOTO in Tokyo

ments Initiative (G8) talks. They are intended to reduce the bilateral trade imbalance by proposing fundamental changes to the two countries' economies. The United States wants Japan, its second-largest trading partner after Canada, to open up its market by streamlining its complex wholesale and retail distribution systems and by discouraging "exclusivity provisions" (patents). Washington says, here will be the highest rates of protection in the world. Japanese officials want the United States to become more competitive by keeping its \$164-billion federal budget deficit, excessive consumption and high cost of capital. Although many U.S. officials admit that America's economic policy is partly to blame for the bilateral trade imbalance, they continue to demand unilateral concessions from Japan.

As well, by mid-July, Japan has to settle disputes in three trade areas: supercomputers, auto parts and forest products. Under the U.S.-Japan Economic Trade Act of 1988, Washington can retaliate against Tokyo as an "adverse trader" if the Japanese do not open their markets to those U.S. exports. The White House has also pressed Japan to open its rice market to imports. That decision could prove difficult for the U.S., which promoted Japanese farmers that it would export such imports.

Some experts say that relations between Japan and the United States are at their most unequal since the Second World War. Although the U.S. economy is politically strong after last week's elections, Gerald Curtis, director of the East Asian Institute at Columbia University in New York City, called the party "disastrously weak" because it will have to rely on the support of the opposition-controlled upper house to pass its major legislation. The LDP could try to use its public support for trade concessions by blaming U.S. protectionist pressures and growing anti-Japan sentiments. But, says Curtis, "it's an increasingly dangerous tactic because it threatens to look difficult democratic states in anti-American backslaps."

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MACHAN'S VANGUARD 115

## SOUTH AFRICA

# A political bombshell

*Murder allegations shake Pretoria*

Only three days after the South African government was re-elected, black anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela came from prison on Feb. 11, it found itself in the grip of a potentially explosive scandal. A former general, Eric Ferox Mostert, revealed in a court affidavit the existence of a secret military assassination squad that, he said, was involved in the 1989 killings of two prominent white anti-apartheid activists. Then, just weeks before South Africa's largest daily newspaper reported that Defense Minister Gov. Magnus Malan knew about the hit squad—secretly named the Cold Operation Bureau (COB)—since its inception in 1987 as a special unit of the South African Defense Forces. The Star of Johannesburg said that "a chain of command involving several generals and leading directly to the office of the minister of defense" controlled the COB, which recruited former policemen to carry out assassinations of government opponents.

Although President F. W. de Klerk was not permanently imprisoned, the scandal is plainly a political bombshell. It comes at a time when de Klerk's reform-minded white minority government is about to begin extensive negotiations with the recently legalized African National Congress (ANC) about dismantling South Africa's apartheid system. Last week, Malan, 80, the retired chief of the South African army who became defense minister in 1983, said he had never ordered members of the military to carry out political murders. But as to what some observers claim was a partial admission that Mostert's allegations were true, Malan said that the army had "acted



Mostert: calls to resign

between the police and the military."

Opposition groups quickly called on Malan to resign. Democratic Party co-leader Denis Wall said that the disclosure "goes beyond any doubt" that persons employed by the army had engaged in the "calculated elimination of leading opponents of the government." The pro-apartheid Conservative Party, which has launched a countrywide initiative to unseat the government because of de Klerk's policies, also called for Malan's resignation.

Among others likely to be involved by the hit squad was Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha, Justice Minister Kobus (Kobie) Coetzer and Law and Order Minister Andrew Veld. Those officials will meet with Malan on the State Security Council, which plays a key role in government security under former president P. W. (Peter) Botha.

Although the COB is the fourth South African assassination squad to be exposed, the existence of others has long been rumored. Human rights observers have said that they suspect death squads may have been responsible for at least 46 political killings and disappearances since 1977. In November, 1989, former policeman Butch Nkabinde, a black death-squad prisoner who had been convicted of killing a white doctor, revealed on the eve of his scheduled execution that he had also been a member of a police death squad used to eliminate ANC activists and supporters. In an affidavit given to human rights lawyer Nokwanda and that he was personally involved in at least eight political assassinations. He was then granted a reprieve until his revelations could be fully investigated.

Nokwanda and that one of the men was Griffiths Mxenge, a human rights lawyer with alleged ANC connections who was killed in 1981

in a period of high tension and bitter revolutionary attacks over the past few years. He added: "The COB, an integral part of the special forces, performed assignments like intelligence and infiltration, in the interests of the country and about which no army could talk."

On Feb. 14, Mostert stated in documents submitted to a Johannesburg court that the COB was involved in the 1989 killings of South African anti-apartheid activist David Webster and of Anton Lembede, a senior official of Mandela's pro-apartheid South-West Africa People's Organization. Both Mostert's affidavit and the Star's report said the COB is an offshoot, never part of, of the military. Last week, The Star reported that the COB was financed by secret appropriations ranging to "millions of rand" that the unit is currently worth 47 cents and employed former policemen—technically civilians—to damage its links to the military. That report sent reverberations throughout the security establishment and caused tensions between the police and the military.

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Nokwanda and that one of the men was Griffiths Mxenge, a human rights lawyer with alleged ANC connections who was killed in 1981

in Durban. In a statement read to a South African court, Nkabinde said: "At the time of the murder, I was a member of the special branch assassination squad. I was instructed by Brig. (William) Schoon and Capt. (Derk) Coetzer to kill Griffiths Mxenge Mxenge. I and three colleagues apprehended Mxenge and took him to the Union Buildings, where we proceeded locking him and punching him and finally stabbing him to death."

Charges against Nkabinde for Mxenge's murder were subsequently dropped, and he is to testify before a judicial commission of inquiry set up by de Klerk to investigate political killings in South Africa. The inquiry is also eager to hear testimony from Derk Coetzer, named by Nkabinde as one of the commanders of the police death squad. Coetzer left the country shortly after the allegations against him were made, living in Mauritius, where he sold a South African newspaper, *Pryke Wiel*. He said that he had been involved in several of the death-squad murders. At least two other former policemen, reportedly by Nkabinde and Coetzer, have expressed the desire to give their testimony and will be called to give evidence to the commission.

The political impact of the COB scandal, following the allegations by Coetzer and Nkabinde, threatened to bog down de Klerk's administration at the very moment when it was set to launch the historic talks with the ANC. Last week, de Klerk welcomed a decision by exiled ANC leaders in London to send a delegation to South Africa, possibly within weeks, to consider starting formal negotiations at a new, neutral constitution.

The South African president was also scheduled to attend a breakfast summit on the weekend with several black African heads of state in Zanzibar, under pressure from the ANC and its supporters in such countries as Zambia and Zimbabwe. Zanzibar's President Major Gen. Saidi posited the one-day meeting, which would have been a first for a National Party leader. Political observers in South Africa said that the African summit might have been postponed to avoid overshadowing Nelson Mandela's planned return this week with his ANC comrades to the Zambian capital of Lusaka. Despite de Klerk's strength in despite his disappointment, the postponement of the summit was plainly embarrassing, because he had hoped to convince black African leaders to drop their public hostility toward his reformed government.

In a television interview last week, de Klerk said that the Zanzibar summit, which would be reviewed by the Supreme Court, would be in conflict with the policy of equality and that he was in the process of consulting with his political leaders. That inquiry is expected to last several months. But if the objections of other government ministers in a secret crack-down set orchestrated by de Klerk could find his new policies in the international community—and has largely put him at odds with the ANC—severely undermined.

ANDREW BAKER with CMH GRANADA  
in Cape Town

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## BUSINESS

## INTERESTING TIMES

**UPWARD PRESSURE  
ON FOREIGN  
LENDING COSTS  
THREATENS TO  
PUSH CANADIAN  
RATES HIGHER**

more common last week. In Tokyo, the Nikkei stock market index plummeted by 2,569.35 points to 34,980.97—losing 6.6 per cent of its value in one week—largely in response to rumors that the state Bank of Japan will soon forced to revalue its foreign reserves by raising its lending rate. And in Seoul, the highly sensitive cited concern was the Townsend-McCarthy Ltd. “Canada cannot fall short on interest rates”—we have to follow the trend.”

And the trend towards higher rates in Japan and West Germany—the second- and third-most-powerful economies in the world—grew

then a percentage point to 8.5 per cent since January, their highest level in eight years. And economists predict that the long-awaited merger of the West and East German economies will require massive amounts of new capital, which could fuel inflation and propel West German rates even higher.

As well, last week’s report that the U.S. inflation rate for January had increased by 1.1 per cent, the biggest one-month increase since June, 1983, again raised the spectre of higher American interest rates to cool inflation. The New York Stock Exchange declined, but not as precipitously as the Nikkei. The Dow Jones industrial average closed the week at 2064.19, down 71.4 points from the week before. Barkley, Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, called for rates by telling a congressional committee that increases in U.S. interest rates are needed.

The Bank of Canada attempted to quell alarm over its trend to higher rates by fractionally lowering its lending rate test week to 13.25 per cent from 13.30 per cent. For his part, Wilson in his budget confidently predicted that short-term interest rates would fall even lower—to an average of 11.1 per cent by the



Toronto stock exchange: “we have to follow the trends”

end of this year, from their current level of more than 13 per cent. He is desperately counting on these reductions to lower the cost of interest payments as Canada’s \$252-billion national debt and allow him to hold the year’s federal budget deficit at \$95.5 billion. And though he added a warning about inflation, Wilson confidently predicted that Canada will still be able to reduce most of its debts in 1985. “Given the strength of the economy,” he said, “we can expect to reduce our debt by \$10 billion.”

But major powerful foreign investors and currency traders clearly do not share Wilson’s optimistic interest-rate projections. Michael Andrews, a vice-president and international head strategist with the New York City-based investment firm Merrill Lynch & Co., said that those investors are nervous about Canada’s inflation rate, which, at 8.5 per cent, is almost double West Germany’s and Japan’s. As well, they are bothered by Canada’s slowing economic-growth rate, which is expected to drop

1985, the proportion held by foreigners of federal government securities such as Treasury bills and bonds, has almost doubled to 30 per cent, or \$54.3 billion. The result: Canada increasingly dependent on the whims of outsiders to finance its enormous national debt.

Increasingly, the competition for international financing from the Canadian government is likely to even in West Germany and Japan. San George Saita, chief economist of Mount Royal Trust Co., forecast a more robust German economy, that is, a 3.6 per cent higher output that would allow for more exports to the United States and Canada. “At the same time, events in Japan are also likely to spread pressure on Canadian interest rates,” he said, as the Nikkei tumbled, the Bank of Japan attempted to halt the panic selling by snapping up and laying government securities, and by increasing its bid on immediate-plus one-year interest rates. But many investors believe that Japan’s central bank will have no choice but to raise rates to quell the country’s rising inflation rate. Last year, the rate jumped to 3.9 per cent, compared with 0.8 per cent in 1984. But as rates rise in Japan, investors there—who now hold \$10 billion worth of Canadian bonds and Treasury bills—may find their domestic market more attractive and secure than Canada’s.

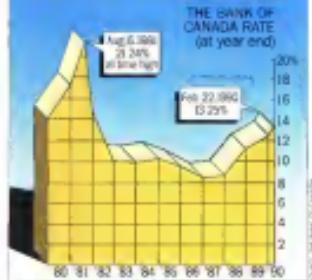
As the storm clouds swirled around global financial markets, Greenspan attempted to downplay the impact of rising rates around the world. “I caution trading before the Senate,” Greenspan and the economists were being quoted by Robert Rapaport, his press secretary. But he added that, “unless something fundamentally new occurs, I’m not that concerned that rates will continue up.” Still, Greenspan and the world of the current U.S. economic slowdown may be over, and that a new era of economic stability and growth may be on the horizon.

Despite Greenspan’s soothing words about the U.S. economy, he may be forced to raise these rates soon. Like Canada, the United States is a major debtor country and must use high interest rates to attract foreign investors. Senator Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said that the U.S. economy “will continue to benefit significantly with high interest rates.”

To meet the government’s objective of a steady flow of low-government deficits, Inouye said that Bank of Canada governor John Crow must ensure that the difference between Canadian commercial rates and equivalent rates in the United States— which currently is more than four percentage points—does not narrow. Said Andrews: “The Canadian dollar has long-term fundamental fundamentals behind it. The only thing that is supporting it is the interest-rate spread.”

Meanwhile, Canada’s dependence on foreign borrowing continues to mushroom. Since

## ON THE RISE AGAIN



as 1.8 per cent this year from about three per cent in 1980, and the chronic budget deficit, which—despite a per cent cut in 1989—is 6.6 per cent larger than the \$184.6 billion shortfall in the United States.

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Meanwhile, Canada’s dependence on foreign

## Business Notes

## GUIDELINES TIGHTENED

The National Energy Board made non-negotiable a set of assessments a company must follow before considering any further energy export application. This is to be reflected in the Canadian Energy Agency’s code of conduct that applied to seek 9.2 billion cubic feet of natural gas from the Mackenzie River delta to the northwestern United States.

## FORGIVING A RUSSIAN DEAL

A team of Canadian businessmen received the final stages of negotiations with officials in Moscow on a \$1 billion construction and development project in Leningrad. A spokesman for the group said that it will now sign a deal to build a 2009-acre waterfront complex near the core of the historic city.

## VW-REINHOLD ALLIANCE

Sweden’s Volvo and France’s state-owned automaker Renault announced that they will sign an extensive corporate alliance agreement, effectively creating the world’s largest truck producer and the fourth largest carmaker in terms of sales behind General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Toyota. The two companies will acquire major equity holdings in one another.

## CHANNEL DISPUTE SETTLED

An acrimonious dispute between British and French companies that threatened to scuttle the \$14 billion Channel Tunnel project has been settled. Project developer London-based Eurotunnel PLC appointed Jim Northcutt, executive vice-president of the San Francisco-based engineering firm Bechtel Group Inc., to mediate to resolve differences over costs and personalities with France’s Transmanche Link, the tunnel builder.

## BLATING THE LAUNDERERS

The president of the Canadian Bankers’ Association, Helene Sicular, called for new laws requiring all financial institutions to long-terms of all high-risk loans/borrowings in a bid to combat money laundering. Sicular said that the requirement should apply to the entire financial industry.

## OMI LOSSES CONTINUE

General Motors of Canada Ltd. of Oshawa, Ont., announced that its profits fell by \$12.23 million, or 34.3 per cent, in 1989 from the previous year even though sales declined to a record \$9.7 billion from \$10.2 billion. On Canada president George Pringle blamed his company’s cash shortage and interest-rate increases for much of the drag.



## BUSINESS

# Navigating rough seas

*The future looks bleak for National Sea*

Three or four mornings a week, Henry Demonee boards his running gear, leaves his comfortable Cape Cod-style house in Halifax's South End and takes a brief, pendulum run through nearby Point Pleasant Park. When he was training for trawlers—use of the world's most grueling commercial coastline—Demonee would leave home and return to 30 hours a week. But lately he is lucky if his busy schedule allows him even two hours of exercise a week. Last 35, the seven-hour working British Columbia's long line of the rough seas jolts a Canadian Institute pilot, National Sea Products Ltd., the largest seafood company in North America, into a profitable corner. And since Demonee was appointed president and chief operating executive of the money-losing, Halifax-based company last August, almost everything else in his life—extreme friends, even his wife and three young children—has been uncertain. Said Demonee in an interview: "The family is bankrupt."

But even these brief moments that Demonee spends with his family at the morning may not be a luxury that he will have to drop because National Sea—and with it, virtually the entire

Atlantic fishing industry—is in a steadily worsening crisis. Not only has a declining demand for fish crippled National Sea, but there is also a mounting decline in the number of cod, flounder and other fish, which have suffered from around the world to Canada's Atlantic coast for more than four centuries. To save his 91-year-old company, Demonee is performing drastic surgery. Last year, National Sea reluctantly closed a fish-processing plant in Lunenburg, N.S., and temporarily shut down others throughout the Atlantic region. And Demonee plans to trim dramatically the number of plants in Canada, N.S. and St. John's, Nfld., where more than two-thirds of the 1,200 jobs will be lost.

Altogether, the measures could put up to 5,000 people out of work. And the prognosis for a turnaround in the foreseeable future looks indeed dim. In January, as part of a downsizing strategy, Ottawa announced a sharp reduction in the quota of fish that National Sea and other East Coast firms will be allowed to catch in 1990. But even these cutbacks may not be enough to restore fish stocks on the Grand Banks, or return National Sea's profits to healthy levels. Last week in

### *Breaking in cod off the Atlantic coast: serious depletion of fish stocks*

Ottawa, the government received yet another pessimistic report about declining stocks from the federally appointed Northern Cod Scientific Review Panel. Delivered to then-Fisheries Minister Thomas Sopuck, it called for further cuts in quotas and tougher conservation methods, but Sopuck rejected the recommendations. In one of his last acts before being replaced at week's end by Bremner, Sopuck said, "The social and human impact of more cuts is immense."

An closures and layoffs have at National Sea, Demonee has become acutely aware of fishing villages throughout Atlantic Canada. Last week, at a conference at St. John's, called to discuss the fisheries crisis, Richard Castle, head of the 25,000-member Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union, and that fishermen and their workers are paying a heavy price for what he described as National Sea's misfortune. Said Castle: "Somewhere, through some way, we are supposed to resolve the fisheries problem by closing fish plants, by relocating people and by closing to fish elsewhere phantom of huge economic diversification." And, speaking at the same conference, Fraser Murdoch, head of the Newfoundland Union of Public Employees said, "Maybe this is time for us to seriously look at whether or not the Confederation business really did us any good."

But, despite the attacks, Demonee's friends and associates say that he remains determined to make National Sea profitable by 1991. For his part, Demonee, who traces his



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coast to Lunenburg, a perfectly-kept fishing village 96 km southwest of Halifax. "I have a historical and emotional attachment to this company."

A return to profitability will require luck as well as skill. After posting a record profit of \$36.1 million in 1985 and a profit of \$34.6 million in 1987, National Sea lost \$5.8 million in 1988. Last August, at losses worsened to an expected 1989 year-end figure of more than \$70 million, National Sea's board of directors already fired the firm's outspoken president, Gordon Cummings.

So off the president's chair, National Sea chairman William Morrow, whose Leesburg, Florida, career covered the company, turned to Dennis, his personal friend who had National Sea's profitable international division since 1984. Dennis's appointment surprised many National Sea employees, who expected his hard work but did not consider him as a candidate to take over as the toughest of corporate Canada. Said one former National Sea official who declined to be identified:



Dennis, drastic surgery

"Cummings had always felt Bill would be his successor—but in 10 years' time," declared Dennis. "Things have always happened early for me."

Dennis has the demeanor, or, at least, the captaining style, of Atlantic Canada's most important company. Large, six-foot tall, with famously slicked-back hair and colored soots, he exudes confidence.

Even the young president's family roots qualify him for the job. Dennis's grandfather was a fishing captain who sailed out of Lunenburg for 30 years, and his father, Earl, retired just this past year after 15 years as chief of the company's fishing fleet, where he earned a reputation for being a tough but extremely able seafarer.

Dennis received a practical introduction to the fishing industry on his summer vacation by working on the fish-processing line at a Lunenburg factory. Later, he worked for his father on National Sea fishing trawlers—hauling in nets, cleaning and packing

fish and spending up to 10 days at a time on the storm-tossed Atlantic. Finally, in 1977, he decided to build a career with the company and he dropped out of a master's program in science at Halifax's Dalhousie University.

But Dennis was looking to get out from under his father's shadow and in 1980 he left to set up the Canadian subsidiary of Pease Whita as, a Swedish seafood company, in Halifax. A year later, at 28, he moved to Royan, a small town 60 km from Bordeaux, France, where he spent three years as president of Nord Maroc as, a French seafood importer and distributor. But in 1984, William Morrow lured him back to Halifax by offering him the international vice-president's slot.

Now, at 40, he is confronted by more than just declining fish stocks. Both the strong Canadian dollar, which has made exports more expensive, and a stagnated level of consumption of seafood in North America have hurt National Sea's critical exports to the United States. These exports account for 50 per cent of the company's annual sales, which reached a high of \$568 million in 1988 and appeared as though they would remain steady in 1989, with sales of \$454 million in the first nine months of 1989.

At the same time, National Sea's \$280-million debt hangs on its head. Dennis says that he wants to issue more stock to pay off some of the debt, but until financial results



Fishplant workers rallying in Caraquet, N.B.: as many as 5,000 out of work

improve, he says that new shares would be difficult to sell. Bill Dennis: "We will have to put more profit on the bottom line before investors will be interested in new National Sea stock."

Dennis has also been trying to increase productivity by building up the morale of National Sea's remaining 5,895 employees, using the company's various operations

across North America.

At the same time, the firm is trying to build out its existing markets by improving service, delivery time and other services for its customers and by buying foreign fish supplies to make up for the cuts in National Sea's cod quota.

But National Sea may have to wait a long time for its quota to return to earlier levels

Last spring, Billfish cut quotas for northern cod—the backbone of the Atlantic fishery—by 12 per cent to 258,500 tons from 291,600 tons recently.

Still, that was far less than the 50-per-cent reduction that was recommended by government scientists to rebuild the fish stocks.

And last week's report on the Atlantic cod stocks showed that the supply was actually much smaller than the government first realized. The report recommended that quotas should be slashed from current levels to 137,500 tons a year in order to rebuild fish stocks in the next five years. The report also recommended that fishermen switch to sets with a wider mesh, which would allow smaller fish to escape, and that the enforcement of existing conservation regulations be increased.

Meanwhile, the Atlantic fishery's latest news is trying to spend as much time as possible with the men who work in the Bore Banks, only 100 kilometers from Lunenburg, and three thousand kilometers up the St. Lawrence River. When not in the office, the 400 sportfishing boats that he operates, waitressing, skiing and especially sailing, that he commands. "I just don't have the time anymore." Now, though, he will likely need all his navigational skills to pilot National Sea through the rough seas ahead.

JOHN D'ENTRÉE with RUSSELL WILSON/KEY

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# Struggling for political and economic survival

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Czechoslovakia's new minister of foreign trade, Andrej Bartùk, planned around the private gathering of Canadian business leaders at Ottawa's Four Seasons Hotel last week and remarked: "We know very well that nearly every one of you around this table could write a cheque and buy all of Czechoslovakia. But we just don't want that to happen. We want, at this early stage of our national transformation, to be extremely cautious about how we present our economy."

The meeting, chaired and organized by Bay Street guru Andrew Strelak, who heads the newly formed Central European Development Corp., which intends to funnel American investment dollars into Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, brought together an impressive array of Canadian business luminaries. They included Thomas and Sophie Beta, the world's leading shoe manufacturers (Thomas Beta arrived in Canada in 1898, a month after Nazi forces occupied Prague and most of the rest of Czechoslovakia); Adam Zimmerman, who runs the forestry operations of Noranda Inc.; John Stimp, executive vice-president of operations for The Four Seasons Hotel; Chanc George Vilim, head of Toronto's Management Inc.; George Ryckel, chief executive officer of Rogers Cable Inc., operators of Canada's leading cellular telephone network; as well as a dozen leading American industrialists and investors. An indication of how significantly the Czechoslovakians—who were accompanying their president, Václav Havel, on his first trip to North America—regarded their delegation consisted of Vladimír Douša, the country's departing prime minister; Finance Minister Václav Klaus; and Deputy Finance Minister Dušan Trášek, as well as Foreign Trade Minister Bartùk and half a dozen other senior officials.

Inexplicably, the Czechoslovakians spoke fluent English, trading quips with each other, sounding like an only slightly

*They were forced into menial jobs under the Communists—now they are busy making not just a new country, but a new world*

of frosty professors at a provincial college showing off their appreciation of the difference between macro- and microeconomics. Some of them had been in jail only four months ago; all of them had been forced to assault jobs during the Communist rule—and now they were busy inventing not just a new country, but a new world.

It was a bit like watching a cabinet meeting with one minister suggesting how fast the process of privatizing state-owned enterprises should proceed, another disagreeing, the deputy prime minister expressing his own decisiveness and one cabinet member shrugging: "Okay, I agree, spontaneously."

That was—how to transform an economy based in the age of Communist dogma for more than four decades—dominated the discussions. "We want to establish a market economy with no objectives," Douša insisted, "despite the capital planning that led to the present catastrophic state of our economy. We have a low rate of inflation (1.5 per cent), a relatively small foreign debt (\$3 billion) and a stabilized consumer market, and new legislation is now being drafted to subserve for state ownership."

He pointed out that except for such essential

sectors as utilities and transportation and communications, everything will be up for bid. In the meantime, however, it is not yet clear how far they have to go to put in place the kind of infrastructure that can support a modern economy. At the moment, there is no way to place a telephone call or send a fax across the little country. The banking system remains primitive, though competing financial institutions to the central bank have recently been established. Above all, the Czechoslovakian lira can't be converted into hard currency, so that profit gained by outside investors cannot be repatriated.

"Our problem," explained Finance Minister Václav Klaus, "is that we can't allow any major destabilization of the economy—so we don't want Polish-style hyperinflation. Probably our highest priority is defining a set of workable property rights. We don't want to discourage investors, but we really can't sell our assets until we establish proper titles and efficient ways of valuing assets. As we de-monopolize, we will require a large influx of outside investment funds. We've already provided for the issue of private debentures and will soon allow a stock market. But most important of all is that prices be set by the genuine free market and not imposed from above. Also, we want macroeconomic policy broadening and certain tax cuts accordingly."

That last thought was too much for Noranda's Adam Zimmerman, who piped out, "Don't let them off!"

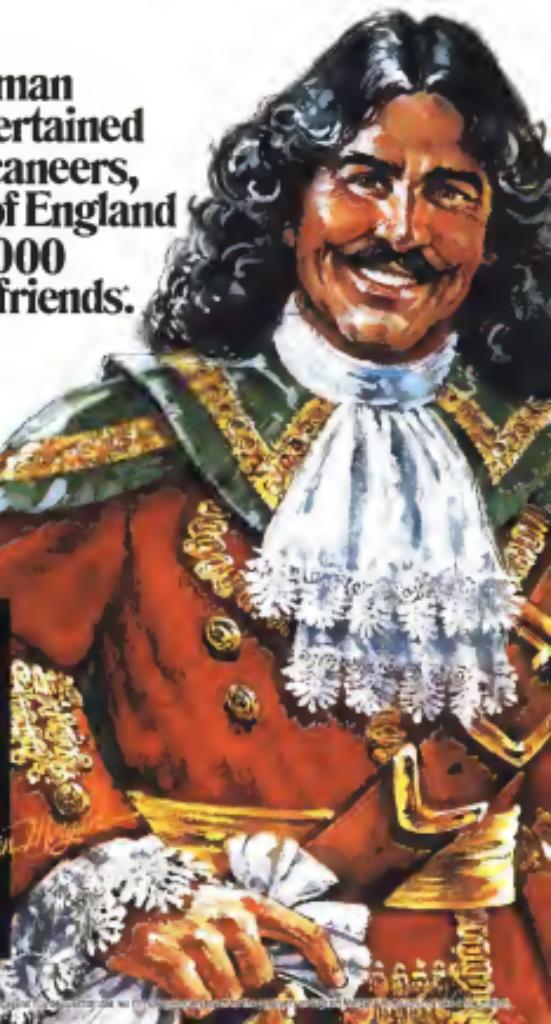
That comment broke the ice, but even the most kindly disposed members of the Canadian delegation could see that the Czechoslovakians before them displayed an excessively smug sense of invincibility. They had already heard from them that they had already thought about how a free market would work and the harsh realities of trying to run a government pledged to reform, but also due to face a general election in June 8.

Tourists seemed to be the only industry that presented the guardsmen harassment—while neighboring Austria attracts 30 billion tourist dollars a year, visitors to Czechoslovakia last year spent only \$150 million. Other priorities will include expanding the machinery industry, automobile exports and, of course, Beta shoes.

The Czechs response went beyond wrangling the Czechoslovak goat herd. Serlos, who fled to Canada in 1956 after the ill-fated Hungarian uprising, pledged \$10 million from the Central European Development Corp., the Czech people said that they were ready in just a few days to exchange George Vilim's Prague-based International Management Centre, in co-operation with Toronto's York University, to run a centre of Czechoslovakia. Others expressed longer-term plans, but, in the meeting break up, at least the start of a special relationship between Canada and post-Communist Czechoslovakia had been set.

It was also obvious to any dispassionate observer that, while Czechoslovakia's path to democracy is difficult enough, it will be a cakewalk compared to transforming the little republic into a market economy.

## Meet the man who's entertained 1900 buccaneers, the King of England & 18,600,000 personal friends.



# THE BATTLE OF THESEXES

**LONELINESS, DISTRUST AND  
VIOLENCE MARK THE STATE OF  
MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIPS**

BY KATHARINE GOVIER

**W**hat will happen between men and women in the 1990s? To you any understanding of that involves looking at what is happening between them now and through the 1980s? In the Western world, nothing less than a great, complex, long-lasting revolution is unfolding. For females, it looks no show the same battles have to be fought over and over again. Trust, and growing cynicism as they see that regulation and education have not done the trick, some women again consider pregnancy. But there are many other changes, the obvious one women's roles in the workplace, so dismantling that they cannot cope. Anger, violence, loneliness and a widespread lack of trust are the result.

Consider

Diana, a 40-year-old, university-educated single woman from an old Ontario family, decided that she was finished with dates arranged by friends or with men she met at the YMCA. She might not have a man, but she could have a child. She arranged a pregnancy by artificial insemination and announced the fact, with her family's full support. The person who was most shocked was Will, 44, also single, who had dated her but couldn't move himself to a commitment.

Judy and Andrew, at their late 30s, were married for 14 years. She was a lawyer, he an executive. Barely in their marriage, they agreed not to have children. As they approached 40, both began having affairs. He became infatuated with a younger woman, and their marriage broke up. Now, Judy is involved with a married man, and wants children. Andrew is seriously ill, craves a lot and calls Judy for advice. "You are my best friend," he tells her.

Terry, 39 and the only member of her large Filipino family who could get an easy job,

worked as a domestic servant from the age of 27. When she became a Canadian citizen, she brought in her father, mother and brother, whom she put through university. She became, in effect, the head of the family. But no one, including her, could accept this fact. Intelligent, hardworking and thrifty, Terry now works as a private nurse and avives in the stock market. She has just had a better rupture with her parents, who count they have the right to tell her whom to marry.

Meanwhile, my parents recently celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary, and their friends, relatives and old children gathered to toast what is regarded as a happy marriage, as an anniversary. And a high-school classmate comes to me from Reverend Dr. Alvin — "The Rev" — 14 and 15<sup>th</sup> the ages. "Dad and I are still in love. I love being a housewife."

Trying to get a clear picture of where men and women are — and are going — like shooting a photograph with a shattered lens. Everything comes out in a puzzle; the messages are contradictory. Marriage is in trouble, but it's back in. "Having babies" and "quality of life" is touted as the ethos of the 1990s. Yet people are working longer and longer hours. Sexual harassment, unequal pay and lack of advancement for women in the workplace are being assailed.

Indeed, that confused picture is repeated, within. Many women are, like me, one part nostalgic and one part impatient for pregnancy. Men and women, in their efforts for themselves and each other, are caught somewhere between the 1950s world of *Father Knows Best* and that unknown, equality-based shape of the family of the 21st century.

Looking one for oneself has been a major preoccupation of the past decade, although that is going out of style. I still smart when I remember what a woman told me 10 years ago when I took a detour in my "career path" and moved to Washington, where my husband had been transferred. She asked, "Does that



still happen in the 1990s?" Apparently, it was not supposed to.

But today it is a different story. The past decade gave a lot of media space to individual women "achievers." These women, in their 40s, and married, working, with children, are now rather easily running out of steam. They have discovered that after-school-day-care and outside help keep their children busy, but they can't bear the responsibility of parenthood. They have all but given up on the myth of the supportive husband. Some of those who can afford to do it have cut back on work, even though no one stays in the full-track working part time. Cynicism about feminism reigns: compensation, survivorship and industry is legit. Some female achievers even say that they are not as sure that reaching the top is worth the grief. They work, keep kids and home together, and barely manage to get out to the doghouse to buy something certain after the kids are in bed.

Some energy is reserved, however, to sound off about men and their jobs, jobs whose demands seem to rise and rise, and men who can't say no to the needs of their jobs. "We don't worry about our relationship anymore," a friend said of herself and her husband. "It's his relationship with his job that's got to be worked out."

**Sexism** Breathing life into the movies on university campuses is a new breed of feminists, born in 1980s negotiating skills, who understand the politics of the "achievers" syndrome. They see sexism and racism as an art of problems and education as the answer. But they have sprung up amidst a campus culture that now considers feminism the "T" word. They cite 30 years of media saturation with women's issues, the perception that regulation now favors women, as well as the knowledge of daily life, as reasons for the increased anger and intolerance of some men.

A great deal of our difficulty comes from the fact that women's lives, much more than men's, proceed at different speeds. The plateau rates of reproduction, and also a woman's concept of themselves as being defined by their relationships. Although more women today either do not marry or marry but do not have children, the majority still have 30-odd years to become educated and establish a place in the community of children and their spouses. Men, they say, have 15 to 20 years. Setting the male responsibility for small children. These *male-shame* to go work are most natural. If they manage and, they and their children are likely to work the poverty lines. Those who continue working outside their home develop dangerous levels of fatigue and stress.

After the reproduction cycle, many women may take a sabbatical. Paid leave, and below the top levels in most job categories, these women contribute every year of their best years: conflict and stress continue. However, recently, late-blooming career women discover that their career paths are incompatible with their husbands' — in other years up to the workforce, he may be moving towards retirement. Such discriminatory workplace policies are systemic that are based on men's straightforward lines of progress through life.

Skills that there will be no retreat from by women. Most work because they need it and their families need the money. For men, wages without meritocratic shifts have suffered consequences. Now, few find they can afford to go slow, protected only by marriage laws and the goodwill of a few. If this is inaccurate, it's well placed, but it has created a ripple effect. If you don't trust me, I don't trust you. Tougher meritocratic property laws make divorce costly.

For years men and women were married and made bargains. she would raise children, he would have a career, they would support each other. Now, the marital "bargain" is unclear. Differences of opinion about who supports whom, who looks after whom, who is in the driver's seat, are coming and reverting. Divorce and contract lawyers enter money. Many people never resolve these needs or expectations, and have only causal relationships with the other sex.

In the end, this is a social revolution. What happens to men and women in this decade must be worked out in pairs. Will the 1980s race car be the decade promised, where compensation, "quality of life" and our own backyards are the big concern? Then we shall find ourselves looking for love, negotiating terms over the compost heap.

Katharine Govier is a Toronto writer whose latest short-story collection, *Before and After*, deals with contemporary relationships.



SPECIAL REPORT

# THE SPECTRE OF MALE VIOLENCE

## A BACKLASH AGAINST ASSERTIVE WOMEN

**B**etty and Peggy Rushton say that they have struggled to hold their marriage together. The couple, who have been married for 14 years, live with their two young daughters in Wentville, M.S., about 125 km northeast of Halifax. Betty Rushton acknowledges that, for many years, he expressed his anger through acts of physical violence towards his wife. Three years ago, Peggy Rushton and her daughters moved to a hotel for abused women in nearby New Glasgow. Rushton and his wife had made peace, he recalled. "I thought, there's got to be a better way of dealing with things than flogging a little wench." Rushton joined a support group for men who had assaulted women and learned to control his violence. Still, his wife says that she has not entirely regained her confidence. "After three years, I'm still worried whether I can trust the change," she said. "It's still a work in progress."

Sociologists say that for many Canadian women, more than 25 years of feminist activism and resulting social change have not yet fundamentally altered their so-called man's world. Since the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* helped to launch the modern feminist movement in 1963, women have used the political process to change their role in society. They can make up nearly half of the nation's labor force (compared with only eight per cent 60 years ago) and they are increasingly moving into occupations, ranging from police work to medicine and law, that a generation ago were almost exclusively male preserves. But in spite of the gains that they have made, many women continue to be victims of male violence.

Indeed, some people who work with assault victims say that violence may be increasing as the advances made by women in society trigger a backlash. "We are seeing more violence," said Ann Reith, executive

### Victim of gunman's war on dominatrix: the madam's rampage left 24 dead

director of a Halifax organization called Service for Sexual Assault Victims. "Women are becoming more assertive, and this has a backlash effect."

Still, even the past 10 years, violence against women has been increasingly recognized as a problem. A growing network of hospitals now provide women who are rape, or rape and assault in police protection and legal proceedings reflect the fact that violence against women is a matter of public concern. Said Patricia Marchak, who is head of the department of anthropology and sociology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver: "We are becoming aware of this violence in a new way. Maybe we are at a turning point."

The spectre of male violence against women was shockingly demonstrated in December, when Marc Lépine went on a murderous rampage in Montreal. For about 20 minutes, the 20-year-old man stalked students of the engineering building at the University of Montreal, snatching up women and shooting them. Before he killed himself, Lépine had murdered 14 female students and wounded 13 other people. In one classroom, he screamed, "You're all a bunch of feminists, and I hate feminists."

**Threats.** The killings led to an outpouring of grief by men and women across Canada and in other countries. As well, the Montreal massacre resulted in a sharp polarization of male-female relations in some sectors of Canadian society. Women in Thunder Bay, Ont., held a memorial service for the 24 women and 15 male victims to attend. In the aftermath of the killing, anonymous death threats were made against feminists, and in Montreal a

letter sent to seven hospitals and signed "a real woman" threatened death to male babies. Now, for many women, Lépine's rampage has become a symbol of an illness that feminists say goes just below the surface in society.

Last week, the issue of violence against women was the subject of a bitter exchange in the House of Commons. In last week's budget, the federal government reduced or cut funding for five feminist groups and three women's magazines. Liberal MP Mary Clancy argued Finance Minister Michael Wilson when she said, "I urge the family and friends of the students in Montreal who died because violence against women is a concern in this country accept that." Declared New Democrat MP Dawn Black: "Violence against women is a crisis in this country. These are the centres that provide the education and support to women."

More statistical estimates of violence against women are available than ever before. According to *Barred from the Board*, a 1987 report produced by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, roughly one million Canadian women are the victims annually of some form of domestic violence, ranging from threats to beatings and rape. Researchers who have compiled the results of numerous studies estimate that at least one in every eight women in Canada will at some time be the victim of physical, psychological or sexual violence.

**Greens.** Experts disagree on why men become violent towards women. Some feminists assert that the male sexism earlier at the hands of men is a simply part of the uneven distribution of power in society. They claim that, in spite of the social gains that women have made during the past two decades, genuine equality is still a distant goal. And experts add, these changes have not really affected the underlying power structure in Canadian society. Said Winslow Baker, the manager responsible for women's issues in the Newfoundland government: "Women are being looked at as a threat more than anything else."

Other experts say that male violence is often triggered by a feeling of loss of control. David Corrie, chief social worker in forensic services at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto, says that the violence often comes "from a guy who's not of that sort of himself or his surroundings. His sense of himself is often fragile." As well, Corrie said that, in many instances, children are taught that men should be strong and should not show emotion. Because of that, they do not develop proper outlets for their feelings. As a result, added Corrie, "when the feelings build up to a certain level, the guy blows."

Being exposed to physical violence, many women are victims of forms of psychological abuse, which is just as much a

threat to their health as physical abuse. In New Brunswick, more than half of 47 convicted male assaulters in 1988 received fines of between \$300 and \$3000 or a period of probation. Only 20 were jailed, for periods ranging from 30 days to three months. Said Stacey MacLean, a counsellor at the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre, "Society is really unwilling to believe that men are capable of this kind of violence, as it blames the women. People in power are still primarily men."

Still, feminists argue that legislative changes in recent years have begun to ensure that rapists face justice in the legal process. In 1982, Ottawa took the lead by enacting changes to the Criminal Code that made it possible for a man to be charged with raping his own wife. Amendments to the Canada Evidence Act expanded the conditions under which a person can testify against a spouse to include episodes of domestic violence. At the same time, senior RCMP officials made some procedural efforts to develop a more effective charging policy to encourage law enforcement agencies to investigate and bring charges in cases of domestic violence.

**Violence.** Many experts say that, as a result of these actions, and because of changing social attitudes, the emphasis of the police is to ride beatings in charge of a woman's "right to be considered a private family controller, which the public, the police and the church confirmed," said Staff Sgt. Greg Desjardins, co-chairman of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department's Family Violence Initiatives program. "A man's home was his castle," he added, "but his castle has been knocked down."

But experts say the real challenge is to find a way of preventing violence from occurring in the first place by developing deep-seated attitudes. In fact, there are signs that a growing number of men are beginning to take into account a fundamental misapprehension of their attitudes towards women. Indeed, during the past 10 years, more than 250 groups have been formed across the country by men, many of whom are interested in supporting the goals of feminism. The attitudes towards women in change, said Anne-Marie Legier, director of Beyond House, a shelter for battered women in Halifax, "can start group together and say, 'We're men.'

For her part, Carol Wimbott, director of Adam House shelter in Halifax, said that the problem of violence against women will "remain until society takes a stand against it."

Many experts say that this will only happen when there is greater equality for men and women. Violence against women, they say, is a symptom of a more fundamental inequality, one that may take generations to correct.

**SOLO INNENWOOD** with correspondent  
Sports



Memorial service for students: an outpouring of grief

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE



Vancouver Lady Godiva ride: more accusations of sexist attitudes and practices

## CAMPUS TENSION

### COLLEGE WOMEN PRESS FOR EQUALITY

Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., is one of Canada's elite postsecondary institutions, where for more than five generations the children of predominantly white, middle-class families have studied in calm and comfortable surroundings. Last autumn, the mood at Queen's abruptly became charged with hostility. In September, women's groups protested against incidents of sex-coded class-rage by posting signs in campus restrooms saying, "No means no." Some male students retaliated by erecting signs that read "No means kick her in the nuts" and "No means to her up." The male students involved are currently facing disciplinary hearings before a student tribunal. And the repercussions of the disturbing conduct are still being felt. A university spokesman said that about 200 Queen's alumnae were as upset by the incident, not by the university's slow response to it, that they threatened to refuse or withdraw their annual donations to the university. "Women can never remember 'No means no' is Queen's tradition which I have no desire to support," said Queen's, many Canadian universities

are experiencing growing tensions over women's demands for sexual and academic equality on campus. Following last December's killing of 14 women by a lone gunman at the University of Montreal, student groups on several campuses protested against what they say are sexist attitudes and practices towards female students and faculty members. Spokeswomen for women's organizations say that, at the past, fewer female academics have been hired by universities and have faced more difficulty in obtaining tenure, while female students have had to endure various forms of discrimination on campus, including sexual harassment and exclusion from some male-dominated groups. Now, administrators at some universities are trying to bring about a change in sexual attitudes.

Students' tensions appear to be greatest in university engineering faculties. Engineering students, and Diana Dean, a member of the Alberta Status of Women Action Committee, "see themselves as having a tradition of being obnoxious little boys." In January, members of the software at a user group at the University of Alberta in Edmonton advocated "shoot the bitch"

NORIA UNDERWOOD and  
correspondent

at a female student performer who had complained about sexism among faculty members.

In an effort to address problems within engineering faculties, federal Science Minister Williams Wiegand announced a national study last week that, he said, will attempt to determine why so few women enrol in engineering programs. According to a report released last week by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, women account for only one out of eight full-time students in engineering and applied science. The University of Alberta students prompted university president Paul Devagupta to establish a fact-finding commission to assess the current situation on the campus. Said Devagupta: "Finally, the administration is responding and trying to live up to what we have to deal with."

**Tradition.** Staff and students at other universities are taking steps to eliminate sexism. Some engineering societies made the decision this year to change the look of the annual Lady Godiva ride, a tradition that began in the late 1960s to mark Engineering Week, in which a male woman rides bareback in a parade. This year, at the University of British Columbia, engineers staged a rifle-firing ceremony carrying three female and three male engineers. Said Scott East, president of the cm. Engineering Undergraduates Society: "I think the Montreal incident made a big impact on engineers."

Some universities are taking steps to give women a larger share of faculty jobs. Devagupta, for one, said that the university is trying to recruit more women in the engineering faculty, where there is one woman in a staff of 135. And in January, the Ontario College of Art in Toronto announced that, in order to redress the sexual imbalance in its staff, vacancies during the next decade will be filled only by women. Thirteen other colleges and universities in Ontario have announced similar policies. The trend has triggered controversy, with some male academics denouncing the policy as reverse discrimination. Alan Sheppard, a spokesman for the Ontario Human Rights Commission, said that even though the policy may prevent men from obtaining some jobs, "the lack of employment equity is an offence to a greater number of people."

Meanwhile, some feminists say that campus sexism is simply an extension of discrimination that results in Canadian society. Bertrand INC president David Stenhouse: "I would like to think things are getting better in succeeding generations, not worse. But I don't think they're getting better nearly as fast as I would like." At universities across Canada, staff and students acknowledge that there may be a long way to go before ingrained feelings between the sexes can undergo fundamental change.



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# THE RUSH TO PRIVATE EYES

## WARY LOVERS CHECK UP ON PARTNERS

The young man from Boston was handsome and well-dressed, and Joanne (not her real name) was attracted to him from the moment they met in a Montreal supermarket. The young man said that he was in the business of representing his business. But after he had raised her a few names—Mozzarella, Jansen, a 24-year-old secretary, and first she became suspicious and hired private detective Paul Blackwell to find out whether the man was really who he claimed to be. "He claimed not to be a college student," said Blackwell, whose Montreal detective agency investigated Joanne's smooth-talking suitor. He won an investigation of a kind that is becoming increasingly common, as rapidly suspicious people in Canadian, U.S. and European cities commission private investigators to check on prospective mates. Added Blackwell: "My client went in the least bit happy to hear the report, and she sent him packing."

Private detectives who investigate prospective partners say that their clients are prompted by a variety of motives. While some clients want to make sure that their future lover does not have AIDS and is not homosexual, many affluent people say that they are motivated by fears that the person they have not yet want their money. Often, a woman—women make up about 60 per cent of the clients—may simply want to find out if the attractive and apparently successful young man she met in a bar is really who he says he is. San Francisco Police, whose New York City-based Vincent Parisi and Associates Ltd. handled 350 such cases last year, "Women are becoming more suspicious, are becoming more suspicious, are becoming more suspicious,"

Lawyer for his part, David Baldwin, a private investigator in Toronto who charges \$100 an hour, says that he has received a "good" shift" toward clients who want potential lovers checked out. A typical recent client was approached by a well-to-do 45-year-old woman who owned a franchise business. "She told me, 'I have,'" recalled Baldwin, "but then her partner and he wanted to start working in the business as well. He and he had

graduated from Harvard and that he had been a director with two large companies, one in Saskatchewan, the other in Manitoba. We found that Baldwin had never heard of him and that his name did not appear in any of the corporate records of the companies he claimed to have worked for."

Frank Anthony Tuccio, another Toronto investigator, said that his firm conducts about 12 inquiries a month involving inquiries about



Blackwell, PI in gear—and the occasional \$50 bill

potential partners. Tuccio said that one case ended with a recently wed wife requesting her husband to file the police after. Tuccio discovered that he was married on trial charges. Said Tuccio: "It's a good business, but it's not a great business." It's the following the used car to a matricine before you buy it.

Some inquiries are prompted by suspicious drug user, Bernard Major, who owns a Vancouver

private detective agency, and the case of a professional man in his early 40s whose fiancée admitted to having taken drugs during her youth. "He was obviously in love, but concerned about the extent of her past drug-taking," said Major. "We were able to show him that her habit had not reached the heavy point."

In the western United States, private investigators say that many of their clients are wealthy women who are afraid of being depicted as crude or artless. Said Ralph Thomas, director of the National Association of Investigative Specialists in Austin, Tex.: "People are getting married later in life, and there is usually more at stake. A career woman has assets to protect." In Santa Barbara, Calif., private investigator James Tavel said that 10 women had been together in December and had lost to the con men who had swindled her out of large amounts of jewelry and money. Said Tavel: "Women are easy prey to a good-looking, smooth-talking man."

Still, most private investigators say that the majority of their clients involve women who want to know more about the man they may be

about to marry. Said Tavel: "Today, a girl wants to buy a single bar in one of these gay bars, she wants to know who he is, what he does, what he is or what the truth is about him. They will compromise his job, his education, his family tree. Next, the relationship grows and becomes serious. And the guy is attack with the lies he told at the first meeting."

Most investigators say that, in some cases, their clients appear to be hoping desperately that their suspicions are unfounded. Major cited the July 1986 case of a well-to-do Vancouver businesswoman in her 50s who spent \$22,000 to find out whether rumors about her as a stock market handie-hitter were true. "She was hoping we would find she was a pillar of society, but we found that she was a lady from Montreal whose morals were very questionable."

Investigators' methods vary. Blackwell will determine the real name of Joanne's Boston beau by tracking him to a car rental agency and persuading an employee to show him the car lease. "It's usually a lot of legwork," said Blackwell, "with a question here and a question there, followed by the odd \$50 bill. But once you have the name, you can do a credit check. Then, you can go to his address and take a picture or two, and maybe talk to some friends or friends. It all depends on how discreet the investigation has to be." Joanne's bill came to \$3,000. In a time of alienation and the sexes, truth can be an expensive commodity.

STEVEN EDWARDS and  
correspondent: April



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# A balancing act

## Fighting the tire fire is trial and error

**A** fire burning along the surface of Lake Erie and scorching up 1,400 gallons of water each, the three water bombers raced north towards their target last week: the smoldering piles of 14 million used tires burning near the southern Ontario town of Hagersville. As each aircraft approached the site, the pilots brought the planes down to an altitude of about 180 feet, dropping a thunderous roar before dropping their loads on the flaming piles of tires. The low-level aerial assault began about 10 days after the huge fire, which police said was deliberately set, started. But despite a combined attack by a 40-member team of fire-fighters and operators of water bombers, bulldozers and backhoes, government experts said that the fire could burn for at least another two weeks. Said James Stroos, of the Ontario Fire Marshal's Office: "What we're doing is hard work and old-fashioned firefighting. It's a slow, hard process."

For the first week the tires were oil-soaked, environmental activists described the combustion at the dump as the second-tallest fire as one of the worst disasters in Ontario history. One expert on tire fires predicted that by reaching the town, which was made nearly of synthetic rubber, the fire could release up to 5.5 million gallons of oil—half as much as the tanker Exxon Valdez spilled into Alaskan waters in March, 1989. The last week, Ontario environment ministry officials said that those predictions are exaggerated. They said that by creating a network of ditches and lagoons around the burning tires, they had trapped more than 166,000 gallons of oil produced by the molten wastes. Workers then pumped the oil into tank trucks, which took it to an East Petrolia Canada refinery at nearby Nanticoke.

The blaze has focused attention on the worrying problem posed by the huge numbers of tires that are regularly discarded in North America. Every year, 20 million used car and truck tires are abandoned in Canada, and 45 percent of them end up in municipal landfills or privately owned dumps. In the United States, an estimated 140 million used tires are discarded annually. Said Dennis Corr, chief of air quality for the Ontario environmental ministry: "The recycling market is not big enough to absorb all the tires that we as a society throw out every year."

At the same time, government officials acknowledged that the Hagersville fire, at a sing-

petrochemical products including benzene, a suspected carcinogen, and solvents, which can cause kidney and liver damage. Corr said that readings taken by provincial environmental officials at the site of the fire revealed only traces of the contaminants in the smoke.

In the early stages of the fire, provincial and municipal officials expressed concern over possible health risks to local residents. For several days after it started, the fire gave off large black clouds of smoke, visible from 16 kilometers away. Municipal and provincial government officials responded by evacuating 1,700 people from their homes. But late last week, after nine families, whose homes are in the immediate vicinity of the fire, had been permitted to return.

Some experts said that the oil from the

smoldering tires could pose a serious threat to groundwater in the area. During the first few days of the fire, before workers dug the ditches to drain the oil, contaminated water from the dump ran into the nearby St. Pauls Creek. Corr said that, as a result, water from the creek, which drains into Lake Erie, has been declared unsafe for human or animal consumption. He added that water samples were being subjected to laboratory tests, but government officials had not yet found any evidence of groundwater contamination caused by oil seeping into the soil.

During the past two decades, the Hagersville dump, operating under the name Tyre King Tyre Recycling Ltd., has become the largest of its kind in Ontario. Companies license the government land to Tyre King to get rid of old tires.

Neighboring farmers, homeowners and other members of the Hagersville fire department told *Maclean's* that they became increasingly alarmed at the possibility of a fire as they watched piles of new grass 10 feet high at 20 feet and eventually cover 11 acres of the 17-acre site. Said Robert Stroos, Hagersville's deputy fire chief: "We knew that if it ever caught fire, we were going to be there for days."

Ontario environment ministry officials began expressing concern about the mountain of tires notwithstanding, unsuccessfully, to make Stroos comply with its injunction to the tire dump. In 1987, the ministry ordered Stroos to separate the trash into a number of smaller piles with five lanes between them, to erect a six-foot chain-link fence around the site and to begin extinguishing the fire.

He has still not done the latter when the fire erupted shortly before 1 a.m. on Feb. 12. Hagersville fire chief Ross Stroos said that by the time his men were on the scene at 1:30 a.m., the blaze was already out of control. Volunteer firefighters from towns near Hagersville battled the fire for a week before municipal officials asked the Ontario government for help. Both the volunteers and the 40 professional firefighters brought in to fight the blaze used the same techniques: First, backhoes broke the burning heaps of tires into smaller piles. Then, the firefighters doused the piles with a combination of water and fire-suppressing foam.

The water bombers, including the provincial government's and Ontario's at South St. Marys, made the fight Feb. 21 and gave the operation added punch. Officially, the provincial team, in an eight-hour period, threw 14,000 gallons of water on the flames. But the fire department claimed to have dumped a total of 450,000 gallons of water and foam on the fire. Stroos pointed out that the water bombers and ground crews had to coordinate their actions carefully. He said that if the aircraft and ground crews were to drop too much water on the fire, the droplets and ladders used to extinguish the blazed-out parts of the tires would overflow. Said Stroos: "This is still all trial and error. It's a balancing act."

Indeed, almost everyone involved in battling the Hagersville blaze said that there are no proven techniques for extinguishing tire fires because very few have occurred. A fire in 1983 at a dump containing about one million tires near Winchester, Va., burned for several months. Government officials said those allowed the fire to burn itself out after unsuccessful attempts to extinguish it. Stroos said that the fire department received calls from people all over North America with ideas for putting out the fire. Bob Thomas, a spokesman for the Ontario ministry of natural resources, added that information from around the world had contacted the ministry offering their products or services. Said Thomas: "Imagine the problem we'd be in being able to put your product out the Hagersville fire."

Once the fire is extinguished, provincial officials and perhaps owner Stroos, will face the task of cleaning up the tire dump. Corr said that the middle of the fire may be dumped in a regular landfill site if laboratory tests show that it will not give off more contaminants. Otherwise, it will be disposed of as a special hazardous-waste site. Meanwhile, the dozen of farmers and homeowners who live near the dump faced the frightening prospect of contaminated wells and drinking water. "We don't know whether we'll ever be able to live there after this is over," said John Stroos, a local resident. Putting out the fire may only be the beginning of a long and painful struggle.



Using water (above); spreading foam: the beginning of a long, painful struggle





The Trumps (above); Maples' bad publicity could damage Trump's image

## THE SEXES

# Trump warfare

*A marital dispute causes a media frenzy*

**I**t was a spectacle of wretched excess. For New York City's tabloid newspapers, it was an occasion for lurid headlines and cheap gags in circulation. The highly publicized separation of real estate billionaire Donald Trump and his wife of almost 13 years, Ivana, became one of the most closely followed marital disputes in history. Just one week after the announcement that he had left his Czechoslovakian-born wife, Trump left several vacation houses and the couple's three children at his estate in Palm Beach, Fla., to mark Ivana's 51st birthday. That prompted a wave of rumors that a reconciliation might be in the offing. Later, Trump would only say that a reconciliation is "always possible."

The Trump separation first became public in a Feb. 13 front-page story headlined "Love at first sight?" by Dennis O'Neil, 26, a reporter for New York's afternoon tabloid, *Daily News*. In fact, rumors had been circulating for months that the 43-year-old Trump was carrying on an extramarital affair with a 28-year-old actress, Catherine Gouzenes, 28, and former starlet Peggy Fleming, 42. But rumors in the tabloid press angled out. Marla Maples, a 28-



PHOTO BY JEFFREY D. STONE FOR TIME

TIM POWIS AND LARRY BLACK in New York

year-old former beauty queen and model, as Trump's current girlfriend. Maples reportedly denied that she was having an affair with Trump—or did an angry Fleming and a belligerent Deneberg. For his part, last week, Trump said only, "There's no affair."

Two days after the separation became public, Ivana Trump added fuel to the media frenzy by telling her lawyers that she was unhappy with the terms of a prenuptial agreement with her husband, whose business empire includes Trump Tower, the Plaza Hotel, the Trump Shuttle, an air service that flies between New York and Boston, and New York and Washington. Under that contract, Ivana, in the event of a divorce, would receive custody of the couple's possessions in the couple's 47th-floor apartment in Greenwich, Conn., and \$25 million. But Ivana Trump's lawyer, Michael Kennedy, told reporters the arrangement was "unconscionable and fraudulent." Instead, according to the tabloids, Ivana was demanding \$150 million as well as the Connecticut house, the Trump-owned Plaza Hotel in New York—estimated to be worth \$300 million—and the privately owned Roosel 727 jetline. The *Daily News* carried the story under a front-page headline saying "Ivana better deal," while Long Island's *Newsday* declared "Over her dead body."

In public, the marital feud was conducted strenuously by high-powered lawyers and expensive public relations firms hired to represent the two sides. As the leading attorney, Michael Kennedy refused to have any direct contact with Donald Trump's lawyer, Jay Goldberg, after Goldberg described himself as "a 'a' after," hired to inflict "physical pain" on his opponents. Kennedy said he regarded Goldberg's remarks as "threats against Ivana and her children's lives and mental well-being."

Kennedy also threatened to sue Howard Rubenstein, Donald Trump's spokesman, for belittling Ivana's business skills. In the meantime, marketing experts predicted that the negative publicity that emerged from the separation could damage Trump's carefully cultivated public image. But Cliff Chayet, who heads a New York firm that specializes in corporate identities, "It's going to be hard to view Mr. Trump as a prudent husband." People may also view him with suspicion as an airline that bears his name. As it stands, the Trump empire is now believed to be worth between \$1.7 billion and \$4 billion—more than enough to guarantee media fascination with the couple's troubled marriage.

# Shock Absorbers.



A devastating earthquake struck California and Maclean's had an editorial team there within hours, a team that included Photo Editor Peter Bregg, Vancouver Bureau Chief Hal Quinn, and Washington correspondent Hilary Mackenzie.

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GREEK PHILOSOPHY

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**GREECE**

BECAUSE LIFE IS TO BE CELEBRATED

## A BATTLE OF THE SEX SYMBOLS

While moviegoers of the 1930s and 1940s swooned over them, legendary sex symbols Bette Davis and Clark Gable found each other unattractive, writes Davis's biographer Lawrence Quirk. In Quirk's newly released *Bette: Her Sexuality: The Passionate Life of Bette Davis*, he writes that Gable rejected Davis as not "sexy enough." For her part, Davis—never enamored with Gable—ridiculed Gable as a "big-voiced egotist" with false teeth. Quirk writes that Davis, who died of cancer at 81 last year, added: "Great liver? Great fake!"

## Forever lovers

For screen stars Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward, who will play a married couple in their new movie, an enduring romance is not simply Hollywood fluff. Newman, 65, said that he and Woodward, 59, who were in Ottawa last week to the 30th anniversary of their first date after 32 years of marriage. Indeed, he was emotional: "There's no room for me in I have work at home." Newman, who has made eight movies with his wife since they costarred in the 1958 classic *The Long Hot Summer*, was play a lawyer and Woodward his society wife in the movie adaptation of two interwar Evan S. Connell novels, which follow an American couple from 1949 to 1944. Woodward says that for years she has wanted to play Mrs. Bridge, who reveres politeness and manners. Added the actress, "You answers apply kindness and thoughtfulness for the other person—qualities that seem lacking today."



Woodward, Newman: "You answers apply kindness."

## A NIGHT OF SURPRISES

Country singer R.E. M. was won a Grammy last week was like being handed a "chunk of land to use the seeds of lyrical country," added Lang. "The soil is fertile." The 36-year-old Concerto. Also, country band, more prominent contenders, Bobby Bare and Emmylou Harris for best female country vocalist with her album *Alachua*. Tivoli and Tisong. She was not the only surprise winner: Bonnie Raitt, 45, who has been performing her blues-based music legibly outside of the mainstream for more than 20 years, said that she was stunned to win for best album with *Mark of a Queen*, as well as for three other categories including rock, pop and blues. Still, Raitt, 43, whose song *Wind Beneath My Wings* was nominated, said that she had been waiting for such a success since she began recording in 1972. Added Raitt: "I hope I don't have to wait another 17 years."



Lang: "The soil is fertile" as hybrid country



Kateri: the only sympathetic chick

## A SCORNFUL BALLET

The National Ballet of Canada's next project is a work of anger. The dinner, *The Hand*, which premieres this week at Toronto's O'Keefe Centre, is—says Daniel Pinnas, the seductive 30-year-old American choreographer—intended to curse self-obsessed parents who neglect their children's needs. Principal ballerinas Karan Klein and Stéphane White are otherwise in the role of the only understanding adults, while other dancers depict negligent parents—smoking, drug abusers and TV addicts. Said Pinnas: "The place is my observation of why many kids are so screwed up."

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Canadian Nuclear Association

the Saskatchewan-born singer who rose to world prominence in the late 1950s. Heppner has an extremely rare type of voice voice, one that combines lyric lightness with dramatic power. Even so, he almost abandoned his career a few years ago. With a young family to support — he now has three children under the age of 9 — Heppner thought of quitting in the mid-1980s. But then, a top-place finish in the 1985 Metropolitan Opera auditions in New York City gave him the encouragement he needed to secure engagements at major houses throughout Europe and North America. And one leading US company, the Lyric Opera of Chicago, has put him in an extraordinary circumstance: the Lyric has commissioned a full-length opera that will receive its world premiere in

mid-1993 — with U.S. film-maker Robert Altman directing and Heppner as the star. Before he left his suburban Toronto home to begin rehearsals in Milan, Heppner squared in a nearly evening interview with MacLean's in a coffee shop. Asked to describe his type of tenor voice, the genial, plaid-shirted singer laughed and said, "Loud — that's the way my kids describe it." Raised in Dawson Creek, B.C., Heppner was the youngest child in a large, feuding family of amateur musicians. He received music at the University of British Columbia and later at the University of Toronto. Heppner first attracted national attention in 1979, when he won a CBC competition for young musicians. Then, between 1982 and 1984, he gained performing experience in the Canadian Opera Company COC Ensemble, an apprenticeship program run by Toronto's COC.

Heppner describes the three years those years between his COC Ensemble stint and the Metropolitan Opera auditions as "the wildest years." In order to concentrate on opera, he stopped teaching music and gave up his part-time

## OPERA

# Triumph at La Scala

Canadian tenor Ben Heppner shines in Milan

**M**uch opera is notoriously demanding — and their vocal response to the Canadian tenor seemed less than enthusiastic a quarter of them left before the final act of the 3½-hour work. But those who stayed cheered him vigorously. The occasion was the traditional La Scala debut last week of Ben Heppner. During what most Opera can only dream of, Heppner appeared at the venerable Teatro alla Scala, one of the great shrines of the operatic world, singing the romantic hero's role in the Met's *Macbeth* (the *Macbeth* of *Macbeth*) (1743), one of Verdi's most popular works. Playing *Macbeth* was Stirling, a 16th-century knight who could only be the hand of the woman he loves, by placing his hand on a king's companion. Heppner's career comes from the most unlikely of contexts. A recent for *Turandot* at the Met, he was then "invited" to perform before the entire world.<sup>1</sup> And a London *Financial Times* opera critic said Heppner was "on the way to becoming one of the great divas of the world."<sup>2</sup>

At 34, Heppner is still a man of spry, singer's formative years. But even before he was a professional, critics were already describing him as the most important Canadian tenor since Jon Vickers,

1982 — with U.S. film-maker Robert Altman directing and Heppner as the star.

Before he left his suburban Toronto home to begin rehearsals in Milan, Heppner squared in a nearly evening interview with MacLean's in a coffee shop. Asked to describe his type of tenor voice, the genial, plaid-shirted singer laughed and said,

and his career director. But occasionally, he had to rely on such odd jobs as coloring a house to make ends meet. The situation improved in 1986, when he received a \$32,000 Canada Council grant over three years. "For me, it was the difference between staying in the business and not staying at the business," he recalled.

The Met audition took place a year later. Heppner says that nervousness hampered his performance in the final round and, as a result, he barely made the cut for the performers who would sing in a special follow-up concert on the Met stage. In the two weeks before the concert, he rehearsed inside the Met in order to compare his voice. Ben Heppner: "It would sometimes wake me up in the middle of the night and just stand there and go through every single motion." On the day of the concert, everything worked the line. Heppner received the first

Borglum National Prize, an award presented for the great Swedish soprano. It assured him a debut with the Royal Swedish Opera of Stockholm, which he made in the title role of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in March, 1989.

Heppner now has several major engagements ahead. Within the next year, he will make his debut with such companies as the Vienna State Opera and the San Francisco Opera. And in 1990, he will play the male character in the Lyric Opera of Chicago's world premiere of *Gold*, by Pulitzer Prize-winning U.S. composer Wallace Bishop. The work focuses on a female character's dissolution in the heart of the century. San Francisco's Heppner's only previous appearance with the Lyric was in a minor role two years ago, for the company's general director, Arturo Konecna, said then, "we knew he wanted Heppner for *Gold*. He should be 'lucky,' and he could be a believable as a lead of such a woody character." But more than anything else, he has this beautiful voice.

So far, Heppner has not made any recordings — he has already rejected some offers because of scheduling conflicts. And while many young tenors would gladly take on such demanding roles as Wagner's *Tristan*, Heppner has turned it down a few times. Said the tenor: "I have to read the pressure that is already being put on me to accept bigger roles." Richard Bradshaw, chief conductor and head of music of the COC, described Heppner's voice as "remarkably sure. And with one of the great and beautiful voices in the world," Bradshaw added, "there is no limit to where his career can go."<sup>3</sup>



Heppner (left) with the COC's Christine Gozlay: "remarkably sure."

PAMELA YOUNG

# Paradise lost

Two strong imports explore village traditions

**L**ate winter is a barren season for Hollywood movies. The Christmas hits have petered out, while summer's spring crop has yet to appear. But that leaves theaters screen more available for European imports. And two award-winning foreign-language movies, now being released across North America after static release from Hollywood's foreign arm, Italy's *Cinema Paradiso* and Yugoslavia's *Time of the Gypsies*, are notable exceptions. And the two award-winning foreign-language movies, now being released across North America after static release from Hollywood's foreign arm, Italy's *Cinema Paradiso* and Yugoslavia's *Time of the Gypsies*, are notable exceptions. And the two award-winning foreign-language movies, now being released across North America after static release from Hollywood's foreign arm, Italy's *Cinema Paradiso* and Yugoslavia's *Time of the Gypsies*, are notable exceptions. And the two award-winning foreign-language movies, now being released across North America after static release from Hollywood's foreign arm, Italy's *Cinema Paradiso* and Yugoslavia's *Time of the Gypsies*, are notable exceptions.

The power of village traditions. And as such, these themes focus on a young man undergoing a troubled apprenticeship.

Unusually sentimental, *Cinema Paradiso* unfolds as an extended flashback. Salvatore, a successful Italian film maker, answers the telephone one day to learn that his beloved mentor, Alfredo, is dead. Salvatore's memories take him back to the Sicilian village where, as a small child, he first witnessed "Rita," his first love, live after with the movies. An altar boy who dedicates a local cinema more important than the church, Rita mentors Alfredo (Philippe Noiret), the projectionist, into letting him spend time in the projection booth. The young boy savagely strips of celluloid that Alfredo cuts from movies at the request of the parish priest. The priest presumes every reel is private, ringing a bell at noon that he feels obscene—which include all depictions of kissing.

As Salvatore comes of age, issues finally find

their way onto the screen—and into his life. With the church losing ground to popular culture in the 1950s, the conflict becomes the cornerstone of the film. And after a tragic accident leaves Alfredo paralyzed, it's he who passes the torch to the self-taught Salvatore, who abandons his job as projectionist.

The movie demands a certain suspension of disbelief. French actor Noiret's glowing performance as Alfredo is filtered through the voice of another actor dubbing his lines into Italian. There is also a jolting lack of resonance among the three actors who portray Salvatore as a young boy, an adolescent and a grown man. Meanwhile, the other characters seem to age at wildly uneven rates. But the movie carries a spell of such gentle enchantment that its use of cinematic license is easily forgiven.

The script was born from an autobiographical impulse. Italian writer-director Giuseppe Tornatore got the idea while visiting his native village near Palermo, Sicily, where he found the local theater in ruins. The village later served as the location for the film. Although Tornatore is just 33, he conjures up nostalgia for the 1940s and 1950s with convincing affection. Many of the scenes take place in a crystal-clear cinema, with cigarette smoke drifting through the projector booth. The screen flickers with images of John Wayne cowboys, Kirk Douglas heroes—and silent kisses on film that has the fine-grain crackle of a vintage camera. Tornatore has created a living tribute to the movies, making them seem as fragile

and as fleeting as youth itself.

*Time of the Gypsies* features another young protagonist who learns about learning from the movies—grappling on a bedsheet screen in a makeshift village theater. But in contrast to the sentimental whimsy of *Cinema Paradiso*, *Time of the Gypsies* is a saga involving sex, passion and dangerous men. It could be subtitled "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Gypsies but Were Afraid to Ask." All the stereotypes are vividly confirmed: the gypsies and campers, the gypsies and prostitutes, the men with political ideas who sell bodies and abuse children, the married whores, the nights of drunken lewdness, the inchoate rapture of amorous encounters.

But the movie's gypsy characters remain disarmingly sympathetic—perhaps because the movie itself bears an unassimilable stamp of authenticity. Most of the dialogue is in Romany, the gypsy language. The majority of the cast members are gypsies with no prior acting experience—most of them absolute. And Kusturica, whose cinema clings to



Scene from *Gypsies*, a saga of passion, desire, vengeance and magic

the action like a documentary eye, directs with such breathtaking energy and vision that even the most banal sequences seem undeniably real. *Time of the Gypsies* is an extraordinary movie, an elemental drama writhing with sex, gr. winds and raw emotion. It is almost 2½ hours long. But the images are so rich that, despite a circuitous plot, it is enchanting from beginning to end.

The story focuses on Perhan (Boris Dovjanski), a teenage gypsy boy with a pet turkey and magic powers who falls in with the wrong crowd. A trigger-puller, Alfredo (Boris Tolokonov), sees Perhan from his village, promises to pay hospital treatment for his young son, whose leg is severed by a bear's claw. Perhan is to be adopted, probably. Alfredo takes Perhan to Milan and transports him into a gang that kills, robs, and kidnaps. But Perhan's innocence is tested when he is forced to kill his own mother. The bear's claw has taught him enough money to build a house and marry his village sweetheart. Perhan sacrifices a bit of credit—and turns his back on the learned values of his crystallized grandfather (Lyapov Adalov).

The movie is a tragedy of village innocence corrupted by city greed. But its gypsy epic elevates it from melodrama to tragic realism. And it ends on a note of happy reached. *Cinema Paradiso* conjures up a lost paradise. *Time of the Gypsies* is a story of paradise lost—and the tribe that seems determined to steal it back.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



*Dad taught me a lot...  
but some things he  
let me discover for  
myself.*



Grand Marnier



Diane Lane (left), Johnson's 'womans' forever acting sexy — what's wrong with that?

## TELEVISION

# Sex and intrigue

Successful series mix drama with melodrama

In one advertisement for CBC's *Street Legal*, Olivia, one of the series' four love partners, is lying on her stomach on a couch, wearing a tight red dress and high heels. She is draped over her colleague Chuck, the crusader who has dedicated his year—and several when he was obliged to testify during his custody suit for his son, in 12 episodes—on a series of "secret" cases. Cases that have been originated at a restaurant, though work in undercover police work and a Black Crown attorney. And Lane has finally made her marriage vow redundant of words with her lover, Miles. Meanwhile, on *ENG*, the real news executive Ann Baldwin is conducting a secret love affair with a younger man, the station's hottest cameraman, Jake Rosenthal. *Street Legal* and *ENG* represent a relatively new phenomenon in Canadian television—series that marry sexual intrigue and legal action.

While heating up English Canada's TV fare, the shows are also earning big ratings. Now in its fourth season, *Street Legal* is enjoying success—one of the country's top-earning series, with an average 1.2 million viewers each

weekend to keep the focus on the characters. "The stories are compelling," said Guy Malaby, *Street Legal's* executive story editor. "People will follow a story if they have an emotional stake in it. The only way to develop that is through characters and their fates."

In the case of *Street Legal*, those fates seem to be mostly romantic in nature. In addition to the highly presented wedding of Leslie (Kris Petersen) and Alan (David Krasner), and the romantic confusion of Carrie (Sonia Savioli), Chuck (C. David Johnson) is singlemindedly pursuing various women. And Olivia (Diane Lane) is shown signs of wanting to rekindle her relationship with Chuck, which ended acrimoniously last fall. While Dale is at ease playing the usually confident barrister, some of the other erotic encounters seem for man-naived Miles. Casually gazing her pale-faced lover around his pocket and neck, she affects a more seductive than sexual look. However, executive producer Barbara Greenberg, who has the last word on what sorts of sex scenes will be shown, has "strictly no sex" in the studio, unless it's a scene from a movie. And she refers to it as "adult entertainment."

In fact, the publicity campaign caused some controversy. CBC director of public relations Terri Carson insisted that these were complaints that some scenes were used. "Some said that the women's men's been hopped, they were being seduced by the men," he said. And Dale, who plays the manipulative Olivia, says that she was surprised by the reaction. "If you know the character, you would know that Olivia is a bit of a victim. It's just a woman lawyer acting at a sexy way—and what's wrong with that?" Dale said and her character has become more complex this season. She added, "Olivia still has all her edges, but now people are more used to the curves."

**E**NG—Electronics News Gathering—is down about half TV news is produced; there's a few cameras when it begins but fall. With about \$800,000 budgeted for each of the 24 episodes, the show, produced for CTV by the Toronto-based production house Alliance Entertainment Corp., has a high gloss look, intelligent analysis and high-caliber acting. *ENG* glorifies the business, but the series does little to dispel stereotypes. Said producer Jeff King: "We had some skeptical reactions from people in the news business who realize the dramatic structure of a TV show is a root removes. However, the press recognizes that the original question is a good one to pose." King and fellow producer Bob Cattell point to the fact that most such publications are whether to broadcast a low-budget drama, more serious of the news, and report it objectively. They argue that the show is "documentary, not a weekly documentary," and that telling a good story is their main aim.

TV producers disagree on whether the shows are simply a fail, or whether they have found a niche spot in the ephemeral world of the small screen. But, for now, it is clear that Canadian have discovered the appeal of office—and sexual—politics on their TV screens.

DIANNE TURKIE

## BOOKS

# Movers and movies

Gore Vidal links Washington and Hollywood

HOLLYWOOD: A NOVEL OF AMERICA IN THE 1960S  
By Gore Vidal  
(Random House, 437 pages, \$26)

Washington portion of the book offers some bizarre historical portraiture. Kirk, depicted President Woodrow Wilson as a "miserable, vacuous, pretentious, and pretentious" man, the first to a range, nation on the international stage. To Vidal, he was "the greatest imbecile in the world" because of the wartime power that he gave himself. Rutherford, on the other hand, is portrayed as an amiable, incautious, glib, dallying, but amiable, man. Mrs. Britton, in White House cloths, and many other women of different times—while his critics knew up the details that calculate in the notorious "Tragedy House" oil-slime scandal.

The Hollywood portion of the book, however, is relatively history, a bit of general fact that even the most hoary *Tai-Pan* dream merchant would hesitate to offer as an influence. Caroline Sanford, the beautiful, French-bairn aristocrat and heroine of the previous volume in the series, Empire (1987), is dead by George Cukor's prodding, to further the war effort as a thin called *The Moon from Afar*. There, Sanford, who is engaged with her tall-brother, Blane, of *The Washington Times* and only becomes the producer of upscale silent features, but also assumes the cause of Keene Tracy and becomes the star of the success she bankrolls.

Stander's character, the shift to stardom, seems credible. She and Blane make some adjustments for Vidal, though, that probably bother some: the author has Stander on the talk show circuit. They also serve as tags in a crossing narrative machinery used to transfix the plot from one celebrity to another to another.

As depicted by Vidal, it is a toss-up which crop is more corrupt. At the Republicans convention that nominates Harding, oligarchic voters are bought for \$15,000 a nose. Not only the grand Olivia, but also the noble Wilson and the young Franklin Delano Roosevelt all sport mustaches. Vidal has a good appreciation of the interaction of politics and leisurely society. His novellas turn out to attest Wilson's speech to the Congress declaring America's entry into the war as it was an evening at the theatre. Upon her husband's election to the presidency, First Lady Harding comes a lady of everybody who has avoided her owing to her than from the White House while she is First Lady.

As for the movies, Vidal uses them not as a mode of artistic expression but as an all-encompassing vehicle for advancing power. Instead of trying to influence the government through newspaper editorials, publisher Stedman Seeger can now, as a producer, move the public through their desire to imitate the stars. But then, the manipulation of Americans by these stars is very much a part of Vidal's mind. "The only freedom that an American has is to conform," maintains the hermit, who feels himself very much on the side of the ruling, "ruthless and unscrupulous" as to many of them were." For Seeger, as in *Vidal*, himself, Americans hold little value. Democracy is deserved as "the natural state of the world."

In the course of such a long novel that gushes, inchoate and eventually wears thin, Vidal presents his own grandfather, the blind Senator Gore of Oklahoma, in several cameos, apparently as a reminder of the novelist's sole lineage. "It took three wars and one race after the human race, I'd go on it," Senator Gore intones like at the book. Presumably, the author's sentiment is shared by his grandson. Banning the advent of some supercalibrated satiricurus, Vidal will just have to make do with the imperfections of what Caroline Sanford calls the "peasant culture." At least, she, and he, finders carving out the surprising figures in his very idiosyncratic Mount Rushmore.

SHIRLEY STURMER



Vidal's star-up onto which city as movie coverage

work. Vidal's sixth look at a series of historical fiction that began with *1800* (1973), succeeds only partially. As a popular chronicler of the events that take place in the American capital, the author has few peers. But as an explorer of Hollywood Babylon, Vidal, whose 1970 movie, *Mynah Bank*, was on the mark, has lost his way. Overall, he makes few compelling links between the two cities.

*Hollywood* begins in 1937, with President Woodrow Wilson to pose to his countrymen the First World War, and concludes in 1923, when the would-be mother of President Warren G. Harding comes to an end. The

## Maclean's

### BEST-SELLER LIST

1. *Devast and Devise*, John (2)
2. *Midway*, Jim (2)
3. *Fourfoot's Fortune*, Tom (2)
4. *Seafire*, Garry MacLean, Robin (2)
5. *Quarantine*, Father
6. *According to Jake and the Kid*, Merrill (2)
7. *Hollywood*, Vidal (2)
8. *Gold Harbors*, Maggie (2)
9. *The Red Rose*, Kristin
10. *A History of the World in 100 Chapters*, Simon (2)

### NONFICTION

1. *Magistrate 2000*, Nader and Marlene (2)
2. *House Guests*, Doyle and MacGregor (2)
3. *Bornstone or the Gore*, Thompson and Dwyer (2)
4. *Highland Life*, Gandy (2)
5. *The Shattered Glass*, Koch (2)
6. *Sex in Pictures*, Gross (2)
7. *Secrets About Men Every Woman Should Know*, De Angelis
8. *Senate on the Brink*, Lazarus (2)
9. *My Teacher's Worst Mistakes*
10. *Invading the Future*, Sacks (2)
11. *Freedom Is Not Free*

Compiled by Bruce Barnes



# A long day's journey into freedom

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Many years ago, when the world was young, your agent was in Berlin and I was a young South Africa architect. He was witty and amorous, when terribly respectable, and we hit it off. I won the job of a Venetian-style Vespa scooter, and he rode it home from the Italian Mita concession, and we used to speed madly between dinner meetings to each other in East Berlin, always debating the merits of each. Seven months later, by accident we bumped into each other—in our mutual delight—in a youth hostel in the south of France. We decided to look up, whirling around the massive piano for an unanticipated time. One day in Marseille, one of us an orange light, the other circling the block for hours, and we lost each other. It was an unfortunate parting. Several years later, your blushing wife walked into a flat in London to pick up a man and then—singing her name—was my old buddy. It is indeed a small world, the oldest chieftain of all and the travel.

We are now into 1972 and that travel reporter is in South Africa, looking up his once-twin two-wheeled companion—mainly on account of how we want to discuss who has lost the most time and acquired the most wistful life. It is understandably depressing, contemplating emigration to Canada or Australia, knowing that the goody government policy of apartheid is never going to work and that the future is doomed for bright young professionals like himself. Try to give him comparable salary rates for architects his age in Vancouver, thinking to do so that his beautiful, courageous country has no future and man bloodbathed her ahead, whatever year. I wrote his circumstances, chock about shelling his case, think again and don't.

So it is now 1980, with the world turning on its head, South Africa following Britain's example and Germany into economic and political revolution, and we are sitting in a Town Hall, trying to hold our dogs in a line in the seat of Moshi's power. He leaves, as well as I know, without even stating that he is in home, with clear influences of Frank Lloyd



Wright, a low-slung brick complex that could be comfortable in Arizona, sitting on a grassy slope that goes off into infinity.

The city has always suffered from competition with Cape Town, its elderly meat down on the coast that rocks with Sung Kong, Vancouver, Rio, San Francisco and Sydney is one of the six most beautiful cities on the globe. It is more than 300 years ahead of display in its urban texture, showing up the brash and rough gold-mining towns of Jaffing that has nothing going for it but the fact it is now the financial and industrial capital of the country. It is rather Montreal vs. Toronto.

Tony and Joy Sheen have five children, all now fed from the nest, one refusing the compulsory military draft to serve such a government (this was before Mandela's release) and is now, of all places, Calcutta. The bleeding of its young talents eventually convinced the remnants of the Boers in the Pretoria government that they had to switch course. That, and the growing realisation that South Africans were being regarded as pariahs, losers, when abroad.

Tony and Joy Sheen are travelling to the United States, standing on a street corner in Boston, looking over a map. A friendly gentleman asks if he can help. Seeing their confusion, he offers to guide them in their destination, takes a haphazard cut of his time to steer the foreigners to their directed path. Impressed by their accent he South Africans can only be described as Aussie bastardised by the Dutch, he asked where they were from. Tony and Joy, dreading the response, replied, "South Africa." The classy gentleman said, "Oh," and turned decisively on his heel. Replying to the inquiry of two American ladies as to their locale, and told, they heard, "We will pray for you."

South Africa, the last white-ruled country on the Dark Continent, is a land as always of contrasts. Tony, with an architectural fees of only two mrs., is at the top on the ridge of high tech that he was once contract to downtown Jaffing because of computer projections. He can work it all out in his desk, and then farm it out. The men who tend his gardens in townships. Most of the best gardens come down from Zanzibar, where they established a more reasonable relationship with their black servants as well as their white southern Rhodesians, the cost of which is equivalent of \$300 a month, most of which he spends back home in a shanty apartment. Tony is cold, because his carefully educated children have been informed of what doctor friends have seen at the emergency wards, that he should seriously consider installing a security alarm system.



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